

American SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

Volume 4

DECEMBER, 1939

Number 6

RATIOS OF CHILDREN TO WOMEN IN CHICAGO AND CLEVELAND CENSUS TRACTS, 1930

WARREN S. THOMPSON AND NELLE J. RUTH

Scripps Foundation, Miami University

THE RELATION between the ratios of children to women and various factors in the census tracts of eight cities were discussed in an earlier paper.¹ There it was shown that the differentials in the ratios of children to women between census tracts were rather closely related to certain social and economic differentials. It appeared in general that: (a) the lower the average monthly rental, the higher the ratio of children to women; (b) the smaller the proportion of women (10 and over) employed, the higher the ratio of children to women; (c) the larger the proportion of workers engaged in manufacturing, the higher the ratio of children to women; and (d) the larger the proportion of women (15 and over) married, the higher the ratio of children to women. These relationships were unmistakable in all the cities. Other relationships which appeared to be of importance in some of the cities, but not uniformly so, were: (e) the smaller the proportion of women 15-44 who were 20-34, the higher the ratio of children to women; (f) the larger the proportion of white women 15-44 who were foreign-born, the higher the ratio of children to women; (g) the higher the proportion of people owning their own homes, the higher the ratio of children to women; and (h) the larger the proportion of families in one-family dwellings, the higher the ratio of children to women.

Because of the large number (935) of census tracts, Chicago offers unusual opportunity to study differentials in the ratios of children to women in various parts of the city under varying social and economic conditions. This paper will be devoted to a more detailed exposition of these relationships in Chicago, giving some comparisons with Cleveland where they seem informative. This study is, of course, limited in many ways because of the lack of data for any unit smaller than a census tract which, in

¹ Warren S. Thompson, "Some Factors Influencing the Ratios of Children to Women in American Cities, 1930," *Amer. J. Sociol.*, Sept. 1939, 183-199.

TABLE 1. ZERO ORDER, FIRST ORDER PARTIAL, AND TWOFOLD MULTIPLE CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS FOR RATIOS OF CHILDREN 0-4 TO WHITE WOMEN 15-44 AND SELECTED ITEMS, CHICAGO AND CLEVELAND, 1930

Factors* and Cities		Zero Order Coefficients							
		X	B	C	D	E	F	H	I
A	Chicago	-.57	.28	-.72	-.20	.54	-.56	.02	.06
	Cleveland	-.60	.19	-.81	-.28	.15	-.67	.43	.44
B	Chicago	-.72	—	-.41	-.74	.38	-.21	-.58	-.52
	Cleveland	-.62	—	-.36	-.81	.23	-.15	-.51	-.41
C	Chicago	.56	—	—	.44	-.53	.53	.27	.15
	Cleveland	.71	—	—	.45	-.34	.70	-.16	-.27
D	Chicago	.64	—	—	—	-.13	.08	.60	.56
	Cleveland	.66	—	—	—	.00	.18	.35	.27
E	Chicago	-.40	—	—	—	—	-.44	-.33	-.28
	Cleveland	-.30	—	—	—	—	-.04	-.20	-.17
F	Chicago	.37	—	—	—	—	—	-.16	-.23
	Cleveland	.59	—	—	—	—	—	-.30	-.45
H	Chicago	.40	—	—	—	—	—	—	.92
	Cleveland	.12	—	—	—	—	—	—	.87
I	Chicago	.40	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Cleveland	.06	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
		First Order Partial							
		A	B	C	D	E	F	H	I
AX	Chicago	—	-.55	-.29	-.59	-.46	-.47	-.63	-.65
	Cleveland	—	-.62	-.06	-.57	-.59	-.34	-.72	-.70
BX	Chicago	-.70	—	-.65	-.47	-.67	-.70	-.65	-.65
	Cleveland	-.64	—	-.54	-.19	-.59	-.66	-.65	-.65
CX	Chicago	.26	.42	—	.41	.45	.46	.51	.55
	Cleveland	.48	.66	—	.61	.67	.52	.74	.75
DX	Chicago	.65	.24	.53	—	.65	.66	.54	.55
	Cleveland	.64	.35	.54	—	.69	.69	.66	.67
EX	Chicago	-.13	-.20	-.15	-.41	—	-.28	-.31	-.33
	Cleveland	-.27	-.21	-.09	-.40	—	-.35	-.29	-.30
FX	Chicago	.07	.33	.11	.42	.24	—	.49	.52
	Cleveland	.31	.63	.18	.63	.60	—	.66	.69
HX	Chicago	.50	-.02	.31	.04	.31	.51	—	.10
	Cleveland	.52	-.28	.33	-.16	.07	.38	—	.14
IX	Chicago	.53	.04	.38	.06	.33	.54	.08	—
	Cleveland	.45	-.26	.37	-.16	.01	.45	-.09	—

TABLE I (Continued)

Factors* and Cities	Twofold Multiples							
	A	B	C	D	E	F	H	I
AX Chicago	—	.81	.61	.78	.58	.58	.71	.72
	Cleveland	.79	.71	.79	.64	.65	.73	.70
BX Chicago	—	—	.77	.74	.73	.75	.72	.72
	Cleveland	—	.81	.67	.64	.79	.66	.65
CX Chicago	—	—	—	.71	.57	.57	.62	.64
	Cleveland	—	—	.80	.71	.72	.75	.75
DX Chicago	—	—	—	—	.71	.72	.64	.64
	Cleveland	—	—	—	.72	.81	.67	.67
EX Chicago	—	—	—	—	—	.46	.49	.50
	Cleveland	—	—	—	—	.65	.31	.30
FX Chicago	—	—	—	—	—	—	.60	.62
	Cleveland	—	—	—	—	—	.66	.68
HX Chicago	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	.41
	Cleveland	—	—	—	—	—	—	.15

* A, Median Rental in Chicago, Average Rental in Cleveland; B, Percent of Women 10+ Employed; C, Importance of Manufacturing; D, Percent of Women 15+ Married (based on whites only in Cleveland); E, Percent of White Women 15-44 Who Are 20-34; F, Percent of White Women 15-44 Who Are Foreign-born; H, Percent of Homes Owned; I, Percent of Families in One-Family Dwellings; X, White Children 0-4 per 1,000 White Women 15-44.

Tracts with more than 15 percent Negroes, or over 10 percent living in quasi family groups are excluded.

Chicago, contains, on the average, about 3600 persons. Thus, all the data on rental, proportion of women employed, proportion of women married, etc., represents an average or a median for such a group. These averages obscure the variations found within the tracts and possibly may hide important factors affecting the ratios of children to women in spite of the fact that the area included in each tract was chosen carefully with the express purpose of securing as homogeneous a social and economic population as possible. In this study, it is necessary to treat each tract as a unit and to limit the factors studied to such as can be secured for each tract.

Cleveland is chosen for comparison with Chicago because, of all the other cities for which the census tract data were available, it had the largest number of tracts and is also believed to be more fairly comparable with Chicago than is Pittsburgh or Boston. Even so, in certain tables and graphs no comparison is made between Chicago and Cleveland because the tracts in Cleveland appeared to be too few to permit of as detailed statistical analysis as was possible in Chicago.

*Correlations.*² Table 1 shows the zero order correlations, the first order partial correlations and the twofold multiple correlations as calculated for the two cities. In general, the findings for the eight cities summarized above apply to Chicago and Cleveland although on the whole the coefficients are not quite as high in these two cities as in most of the others. There are, however, differences between Chicago and Cleveland which would seem to indicate that there may be considerable local variations in the relations of the several factors considered. These variations are found in the relationships of the different factors to one another as well as to the ratios of children to women. The correlation of the four factors (A, the median monthly rental (average rental in Cleveland); B, the proportion of women ten and over employed; C, the proportion of workers engaged in manufacturing; and D, the proportion of women fifteen and over married) with X, the children 0-4 per 1,000 white women 15-44, shows no significant difference between the two cities in their zero order coefficients as regards the first (r_{AX} : Chicago, $-.57$; Cleveland, $-.60$) and the last (r_{DX} : Chicago, $.64$; Cleveland, $.66$) but it appears that the proportion of women employed is more important in Chicago than in Cleveland (r_{BX} : Chicago, $-.72$; Cleveland, $-.62$) while the proportion of workers engaged in manufacturing is more important in Cleveland (r_{CX} : Chicago, $.56$; Cleveland, $.71$). This is further confirmed by the differential found in the first order partials and twofold multiples where the factors B and C are involved. Thus in Chicago, $r_{AX.C}$ (the relation between rental and the ratio of children to women when the proportion of workers engaged in manufacturing is held constant) is appreciably higher ($-.29$) than in Cleveland ($-.06$) while $r_{AX.B}$ (the proportion of women employed being held constant in this case) is higher in Cleveland (Chicago, $-.55$; Cleveland, $-.62$). In Chicago, the multiple R_{ABX} (that is, rental plus employed women with ratios) is much higher ($.81$) than R_{ACX} ($.61$) (that is, rental plus manufacturing with ratios) while in Cleveland, the difference is much smaller, the coefficients being $.79$ and $.71$ respectively. This difference in the influence of employed women (B) and manufacturing (C) in Chicago and Cleveland is further manifested in the other multiples when B and C are added to other factors. In general, in Chicago the twofold multiples including employed women (B) are higher than those including manufacturing (C), while in Cleveland, it is just the reverse (See Table 1).

This difference in the relative importance of the proportion of women employed (B) and the proportion of workers engaged in manufacturing (C) is also found in most of the first order partial correlations. When the proportion of employed women is held constant (column B second part of Table 1) the partial coefficient as compared with the zero order is reduced

² The factors used in the correlations are defined in the notes to Table 1.

more in Chicago than in Cleveland. Thus, r_{AX} in Chicago is $-.57$ and $r_{AX.B}$ is $-.55$, while in Cleveland these coefficients are $-.60$ and $-.62$ respectively. When manufacturing is used while employed women is held constant, the coefficient ($r_{CX.B}$) is $.42$ in Chicago and the zero order (r_{CX}) is $.56$ while in Cleveland the coefficients are $.66$ and $.71$ respectively. On the other hand, when proportion of workers in manufacturing (C) is held constant (column C, second part of Table 1) the first order partial coefficients are reduced more in Cleveland than in Chicago. (For example, Cleveland $r_{AX} = -.60$, $r_{AX.C} = -.06$; Chicago $r_{AX} = -.57$, $r_{AX.C} = -.29$). However, the first order partial coefficients for percent of homes owned (H) and percent of families in one-family dwellings (I) when manufacturing (C) is held constant are larger in Cleveland than the zero order coefficients for these factors. This probably arises from the fact that there is a significant inverse correlation between proportion in manufacturing and percent of homes owned and percent in one-family dwellings (r_{CH} and r_{CI}).

In both cities, the D factor, proportion of women married, when added to rental and manufacturing (R_{ADX} and R_{CDX}) yields a considerably higher correlation (Chicago $r_{AX} = -.57$, $R_{ADX} = .78$; Cleveland $r_{AX} = -.60$, $R_{ADX} = .79$). When married women (D) is added to employed women (B), however, there is an appreciably smaller increase (Chicago $r_{BX} = -.72$, $R_{BDX} = .74$; Cleveland $r_{BX} = -.62$, $R_{BDX} = .67$). It would appear probable that B, the proportion of women employed, and D, the proportion of women married, measure somewhat the same conditions and also that A, monthly rental, and C, proportion engaged in manufacturing, measure much the same conditions, for the intercorrelations of rental and manufacturing (r_{AC} : Chicago, $-.72$; Cleveland, $-.81$) and of employed women and married women (r_{BD} : Chicago, $-.74$; Cleveland, $-.81$) are both very high, much higher than rental and employed women (r_{AB} : Chicago, $.28$; Cleveland, $.19$), rental and married women (r_{AD} : Chicago, $-.20$; Cleveland, $-.28$), employed women and manufacturing (r_{BC} : Chicago, $-.41$; Cleveland, $-.36$), and manufacturing and married women (r_{CD} : Chicago, $.44$; Cleveland, $.45$).

The multiple correlations also indicate that the pairs, rental (A) and manufacturing (C), employed women (B) and married women (D), are rather closely related. For when rental (A) or manufacturing (C) is added to a combination in which the other is present the coefficient is raised comparatively little. Thus, rental with ratios (r_{AX} : Chicago, $-.57$; Cleveland, $-.60$) is raised by a smaller amount when manufacturing (C) is added (R_{ACX} : Chicago, $.61$; Cleveland, $.71$) than when employed women (B) is added (R_{ABX} : Chicago, $.81$; Cleveland, $.79$). The same is true when married women (D) is added to employed women (B) (r_{BX} : Chicago, $-.72$, Cleveland, $-.62$; R_{BDX} : Chicago, $.74$, Cleveland, $.67$) as compared with adding manufacturing (C) (R_{BCX} : Chicago, $.77$, Cleveland, $.81$).

In the higher order multiples, the addition of rental (A) or manufacturing (C) when the other is present, or the addition of employed women (B) or married women (D) when the other is present, adds comparatively little as can be seen from Table 2 where a number of threefold multiple coefficients are given with the several coefficients (twofold multiples) into which they can be factored. Even the fourfold multiple—rental, employed women, manufacturing, and married women with ratios, R_{ABCDX} : Chicago, .83—is only .02 higher than the twofold multiple R_{ABX} (Chicago, .81).

TABLE 2. COEFFICIENTS OF MULTIPLE CORRELATION FOR RATIOS OF CHILDREN 0-4 TO WHITE WOMEN 15-44, WITH TWO AND THREE OTHER ITEMS,*
CHICAGO AND CLEVELAND, 1930

Threefold Multiples			Twofold Multiples								
Fac-tors	Chi-cago	Cleve-land	Fac-tors	Chi-cago	Cleve-land	Fac-tors	Chi-cago	Cleve-land	Fac-tors	Chi-cago	Cleve-land
R_{ABCX}	.81	.81	R_{ABX}	.81	.79	R_{ACX}	.61	.71	R_{BCX}	.77	.81
R_{ABDX}	.83	.81	R_{ADX}	.81	.79	R_{ADX}	.78	.79	R_{BDX}	.74	.67
R_{ABEX}	.82	.80	R_{ABX}	.81	.79	R_{AEX}	.58	.64	R_{BEX}	.73	.64
R_{ABFX}	.81	.82	R_{ABX}	.81	.79	R_{AFX}	.58	.65	R_{BFX}	.75	.79
R_{ACDX}	.78	.81	R_{ACX}	.61	.71	R_{ADX}	.78	.79	R_{CDX}	.71	.80
R_{ACFX}	.61	.72	R_{ACX}	.61	.71	R_{AFX}	.58	.65	R_{CFX}	.57	.72
R_{ACIX}	.72	.77	R_{ACX}	.61	.71	R_{AIX}	.72	.70	R_{CIX}	.64	.75
R_{ADEX}	.79	.82	R_{ADX}	.78	.79	R_{AEX}	.58	.64	R_{DEX}	.71	.72
R_{AFHX}	.72	.77	R_{AFX}	.58	.65	R_{AHX}	.71	.73	R_{FHX}	.60	.66
R_{AFIX}	.74	.78	R_{AFX}	.58	.65	R_{AIX}	.72	.70	R_{FIX}	.62	.68
R_{BCDX}	.78	.82	R_{BCX}	.77	.81	R_{BDX}	.74	.67	R_{CDX}	.71	.80
R_{BDEX}	.76	.73	R_{BDX}	.74	.67	R_{BEX}	.73	.64	R_{DEX}	.71	.72
R_{BDFX}	.78	.82	R_{BDX}	.74	.67	R_{BFX}	.75	.79	R_{DFX}	.72	.81
R_{BEFX}	.75	.81	R_{BEX}	.73	.64	R_{BFX}	.75	.79	R_{EFX}	.46	.65
R_{BFIX}	.76	.80	R_{BFX}	.75	.79	R_{BIX}	.72	.65	R_{FIX}	.62	.68
R_{CFIX}	.68	.79	R_{CFX}	.57	.72	R_{CIX}	.64	.75	R_{FIX}	.62	.68
R_{DEFX}	.74	.86	R_{DEX}	.71	.72	R_{DFX}	.72	.81	R_{EFX}	.46	.65

* See note to Table 1 for definitions of letters used.

The correlation of E, the proportion of women 15-44 who were 20-34, with X, the ratio of children to white women, r_{EX} , is much lower than the four thus far considered but it is not negligible (Chicago, -.40; Cleveland, -.30). In the twofold multiples, the inclusion of young women (E) raises the coefficients significantly from the zero order values of r_{DX} (proportion of women married and ratios) and r_{FX} (foreign-born women and ratios) in both Chicago and Cleveland, the R_{EFX} multiple being particularly significant in Cleveland. In Chicago, young women (E) in combination with H, percent of homes owned, and I, percent of families in one-family dwellings, is also significant ($REHX$, .49; $REIX$, .50).

In the multiple correlations, both homes owned (H) and one-family dwellings (I) add significantly to the coefficients when used in combination

with average monthly rental (A); and appreciably, when combined with the proportion of workers engaged in manufacturing (C), the proportion of women 20-34 (E), and the proportion of women foreign-born (F); but they affect the coefficients only slightly when added to the proportion of women employed (B), and the proportion of women married (D). (See multiple correlations in Tables 1 and 2.)

In Chicago, the proportion of foreign-born women (F) has a lower coefficient of correlation with the ratio of children (X) than any other factor, but in Cleveland this coefficient is almost as high as that of A, rental, and B, women employed (r_{FX} : Chicago, .37; Cleveland, .59). In both cities, when F is added to married women and ratios (DX), the coefficient R_{DFX} is significantly higher than the zero order, especially in Cleveland. In both cities, foreign-born women (F) added to percent of homes owned (H) and percent in one-family dwellings (I) raises the correlations with ratios (X) significantly, but in Cleveland considerably more than in Chicago. The F, percent of foreign-born women, factor is, therefore, of considerable significance but its relatively high intercorrelation with rental (A) and proportion engaged in manufacturing (C) indicate that these three factors all measure somewhat the same social and economic conditions, that is, low rents, a high proportion in manufacturing, and a high proportion of foreign-born women all appear to go together and have a fairly high correlation with the ratio of children, the threefold multiple R_{ACFX} (Chicago, .61; Cleveland, .72) being significantly high but not as high as rental, employed women, and foreign-born women with ratios (R_{ABFX} : Chicago, .81; Cleveland, .82) or rental, employed women, and married women with ratios (R_{ABDX} : Chicago, .83; Cleveland, .81).

The first order partial correlations of foreign born women (F) and ratios (X) where the other factors are held constant also indicate that F is rather intimately associated with rental (A) and manufacturing (C). Thus, foreign-born women with ratios, rental being held constant ($r_{FX.A}$: Chicago, .07; Cleveland, .31) and foreign-born women with ratios, manufacturing being held constant ($r_{FX.C}$: Chicago, .11; Cleveland, .18) are significantly lower than the zero order r_{FX} : Chicago, .37; Cleveland, .59) while in most of the other partials for FX, the coefficients are higher than those of the zero order. Quite clearly, the proportion of foreign-born women is closely related to rental and manufacturing in both cities but is of less significance in Chicago than in Cleveland.

The factors H, proportion of owned homes, and I, proportion of families living in one-family dwellings, appear to measure much the same conditions since they show a very high intercorrelation in both Chicago (.92) and Cleveland (.87) and have much the same coefficients when used in different combinations of partial and multiple correlations, but they appear to be of appreciably more significance in Chicago than in Cleveland for practically all combinations. However, the zero order correlations for homes owned

TABLE 3. CHILDREN 0-4 PER 1000 WHITE WOMEN 15-44 IN CENSUS TRACTS GROUPED ACCORDING TO SELECTED ITEMS, CHICAGO, 1930

Median Rental			Pct. of Women 10+ Employed			Importance of Manufacturing		
Group		White C/W	Group		White C/W	Group		White C/W
Range	Rank		Range	Rank		Range	Rank	
79.9-151.2	1	209	37.9-53.8	1	155	68.5-82.6	1	392
71.2-79.6	2	242	34.0-37.8	2	196	65.4-68.4	2	377
66.7-71.0	3	230	31.2-33.9	3	231	62.3-65.3	3	352
64.2-66.6	4	249	29.5-31.0	4	238	59.8-62.2	4	351
61.2-64.0	5	271	28.4-29.4	5	278	57.8-59.7	5	347
58.6-61.1	6	242	27.5-28.3	6	276	55.9-57.6	6	335
55.3-58.5	7	273	26.4-27.4	7	286	54.4-55.8	7	319
51.0-55.1	8	300	25.5-26.3	8	304	53.1-54.3	8	324
48.3-50.9	9	302	24.9-25.5	9	288	51.6-53.0	9	308
45.3-48.2	10	304	24.1-24.8	10	310	49.7-51.5	10	316
43.2-45.1	11	305	23.4-24.0	11	335	47.7-49.6	11	311
41.5-43.1	12	321	22.9-23.3	12	311	46.0-47.6	12	297
40.2-41.4	13	322	22.4-22.8	13	323	44.5-45.9	13	307
37.3-40.0	14	345	21.8-22.3	14	318	43.1-44.4	14	295
32.8-37.2	15	332	21.0-21.7	15	335	40.4-42.9	15	282
29.0-32.7	16	384	20.1-20.9	16	343	37.7-40.3	16	269
26.6-28.9	17	385	19.2-20.0	17	368	34.8-37.6	17	249
24.1-26.5	18	395	17.9-19.1	18	380	32.1-34.7	18	251
21.0-24.0	19	425	16.2-17.8	19	409	26.6-32.0	19	204
13.8-20.5	20	352	8.3-15.9	20	447	13.8-26.5	20	175
Pct. of Women 15+ Married			Pct. of White Women 15-44 Foreign-born			Pct. in One-family Dwellings		
71.4-84.7	1	417	47.7-60.5	1	306	83.3-100.0	1	386
69.2-71.3	2	374	43.6-47.5	2	357	70.5-83.1	2	358
67.4-69.1	3	346	39.1-43.0	3	380	58.2-70.1	3	345
66.3-67.3	4	336	36.6-38.9	4	337	50.7-58.2	4	336
65.3-66.2	5	317	34.5-36.4	5	335	44.0-50.5	5	337
64.2-65.2	6	329	31.7-34.4	6	336	37.0-43.6	6	309
63.5-64.1	7	353	29.7-31.5	7	332	32.3-36.9	7	317
63.1-63.4	8	335	27.5-29.6	8	299	28.3-32.1	8	309
62.5-63.0	9	325	25.8-27.4	9	318	25.2-28.2	9	313
61.8-62.4	10	322	23.9-25.7	10	306	22.8-25.1	10	300
61.2-61.8	11	289	22.8-23.8	11	311	20.8-22.7	11	294
60.7-61.1	12	293	21.5-22.7	12	309	18.5-20.7	12	304
59.9-60.6	13	306	20.1-21.5	13	260	17.0-18.4	13	301
58.9-59.8	14	306	18.9-20.0	14	289	15.0-16.9	14	264
58.2-58.8	15	278	17.5-18.8	15	270	14.1-14.9	15	295
57.1-58.1	16	275	16.3-17.4	16	279	12.4-14.0	16	266
55.8-57.0	17	263	14.9-16.2	17	257	11.1-12.3	17	280
54.1-55.7	18	243	13.0-14.7	18	254	8.8-11.0	18	254
51.9-54.0	19	188	11.2-12.8	19	222	6.9-8.7	19	275
41.7-51.8	20	158	7.8-11.1	20	238	.5-6.7	20	216

with ratios (r_{HX} : Chicago, .40; Cleveland, .12) and for one-family dwellings and ratios (r_{IX} : Chicago, .40; Cleveland, .06) are appreciably increased when rental (A) is held constant, particularly in Cleveland, ($r_{HX.A}$: Chicago, .50; Cleveland, .52); ($r_{IX.A}$: Chicago, .53; Cleveland, .45). In Cleveland there is also a significant increase when manufacturing (C) and foreign-born women (F) are held constant. Some of the higher order partials for Chicago also indicate that homes owned (H) and one-family dwellings (I) are of importance when other factors are held constant (one-family dwellings with ratios when rental and manufacturing or manufacturing and foreign-born women are held constant ($r_{IX.AC} = .49$, $r_{IX.CF} = .46$), and homes owned with ratios, when rental and foreign-born women are held constant ($r_{HX.AF} = .53$).

The Array of Tracts by Various Factors. In Table 3, the 686 Chicago Census tracts having less than 10 percent of quasi-families and less than 15 percent of Negroes are arrayed in twenty groups and these are summed into quartiles according to median rental, proportion of women ten and over employed, importance of manufacturing, proportion of women 15 and over married, proportion of white women 15-44 foreign born, and proportion of families in one-family dwellings. The corresponding ratios of children to white women have been calculated. These arrays show a positive correlation between ratios of children to women and importance of manufacturing, proportion married, proportion foreign born, and proportion in one-family dwellings; and an inverse correlation between ratios and rental and women employed. There are no breaks in the trends for quartiles, the range being largest for proportion of women employed; but there are variations from the trend when the tracts are divided into twenty groups instead of four.

In Table 4, the median rental array is broken into quartiles according to group numbers by proportion of women employed, by importance of manufacturing, by proportion married, and by proportion in one-family dwellings, and corresponding ratios calculated for these smaller more homogenous groups.

In general, it will be seen that in each of these four respects and in each quartile, the ratio of children to women decreases as median rental increases. However, from Chart 1 we see that ratios of children to women tend to increase with rentals higher than sixty dollars when few women are employed, when a high proportion of women are married, when the proportion engaged in manufacturing is high, and when a large proportion of the families live in one-family dwellings. It is also clear that as a rule in any rental group (i. e., with rental held constant) the ratio of children to women increases in each quartile (a) as the proportion of women employed decreases, (b) as the proportion of workers engaged in manufacturing increases (although there are more numerous exceptions in this respect than

TABLE 4. WHITE CHILDREN 0-4 PER 1000 WHITE WOMEN 15-44 BY MEDIAN RENTAL IN THE CHICAGO CENSUS TRACT QUARTILES BY PROPORTION OF WOMEN 10+ EMPLOYED, BY IMPORTANCE OF MANUFACTURING, BY PROPORTION OF FAMILIES LIVING IN ONE-FAMILY DWELLINGS AND BY PROPORTION OF WOMEN MARRIED, 1930

Median Rental	Proportion of Women 10+ Employed				Proportion Engaged in Manufacturing			
	28.4- 53.8%	24.1- 28.3%	21.0- 24.0%	8.3- 20.9%	57.8- 82.6%	49.7- 57.6%	40.4- 49.6%	13.8- 40.3%
\$79.9-151.2	150	204	259	333	—	—	—	209
71.2-79.6	184	254	296	336	—	386*	296	235
66.7-71.0	175	243	296	348	—	307	338	202
64.2-66.6	197	266	292	310	—	304	261	231
61.2-64.0	217	256	291	349	443	327	277	226
58.6-61.1	205	243	295	354	409*	333	241	222
55.3-58.5	216	278	293	332	338	274	279	226
51.0-55.1	226	274	311	356	355	296	292	313
48.3-50.9	225	288	304	367	321	303	294	306
45.3-48.2	250	292	309	398	332	301	294	522*
43.2-45.1	249	298	318	338	303	315	291	340
41.5-43.1	283	290	329	377	314	321	330	228*
40.2-41.4	269	279	377	386	322	305	329	493*
37.3-40.0	297	307	354	388	376	323	325	327
32.8-37.2	306	311	342	401	350	321	332	—
29.0-32.7	368*	352	368	419	382	399	375	320*
26.6-28.9	336	344	420	445	372	409	423	—
24.1-26.5	338	384	399	474	390	409	395	480*
21.0-24.0	412*	396	412	470	423	420	432	457*
13.8-20.5	333	343	388	399	356	302	370	337*
Median Rental	Proportion of Women 15+ Married				Proportion of Families in One-family Dwellings			
	84.7- 65.3%	65.2- 61.8%	61.8- 58.2%	58.1- 41.7%	44.0- 100%	22.8- 43.6%	14.1- 22.7%	0.5- 14.0%
\$79.9-151.2	367	287	260	160	285	301	205	149
71.2-79.6	314	315	234	185	324	258	228	206
66.7-71.0	322	269	232	174	309	243	187	195
64.2-66.6	304	282	260	203	288	281	244	204
61.3-64.0	338	253	224	221	344	298	250	215
58.6-61.1	344	280	237	208	331	268	209	212
55.3-58.5	310	281	272	225	295	297	259	247
51.0-55.1	363	310	262	237	344	267	282	277
48.3-50.9	325	294	289	238	371	294	281	270
45.3-48.2	353	296	307	267	346	315	281	284
43.2-45.1	345	311	298	249	342	306	293	268
41.5-43.1	355	355	297	293	363	318	311	300
40.2-41.4	426	310	297	269	379	343	282	270
37.3-40.0	395	344	323	292	389	321	348	303
32.8-37.2	430	349	306	312	424	318	341	286
29.0-32.7	433	380	368	368	450	381	354	406
26.6-28.9	409	428	360	308	464	414	333	390
24.1-26.5	421	403	394	342	431	402	372	398
21.0-24.0	469	438	407	396	457	388	436	427
13.8-20.5	470	415	357	328	384	375	381	337

* Less than 1000 White Women 15-44.

RATIOS OF CHILDREN TO WOMEN

783

TABLE 5. WHITE CHILDREN 0-4 PER 1000 WHITE WOMEN 15-44 GROUPED BY SELECTED ITEMS IN THE CHICAGO CENSUS TRACT QUANTILES BY MEDIAN RENTAL, 1930

Proportion of Women 10+ Employed	Median Rental				Proportion Engaged in Manufacturing	Median Rental			
	\$61.2- 151.2	\$45.3- 61.1	\$32.8- 45.1	\$13.8- 32.7		\$61.2- 151.2	\$45.3- 61.1	\$32.8- 45.1	\$13.8- 32.7
37.9-53.8%	133	181	283	251	68.5-82.6%	—	—	426	391
34.0-37.8%	176	202	240	340	65.4-68.4%	—	361	372	383
31.2-33.9%	201	232	284	322	62.3-65.3%	—	342	305	373
29.5-31.0%	205	237	288	331	59.8-62.2%	—	409	313	380
28.4-29.4%	237	238	294	350	57.8-59.7%	443	327	327	384
27.5-28.3%	225	264	280	346	55.9-57.6%	392	300	313	425
26.4-27.4%	241	288	295	338	54.4-55.8%	—	283	320	385
25.5-26.3%	258	284	292	390	53.1-54.3%	326	303	320	397
24.9-25.5%	243	256	304	366	51.6-53.0%	265	300	312	391
24.1-24.8%	284	289	305	386	49.7-51.5%	325	300	327	325
23.4-24.0%	324	395	333	386	47.7-49.6%	277	292	307	401
22.9-23.3%	284	300	333	391	46.0-47.6%	400	265	285	416
22.4-22.8%	300	312	329	388	44.5-45.9%	220	298	339	359
21.8-22.3%	318	293	341	372	43.1-44.4%	307	252	344	338
21.0-21.7%	262	314	348	437	40.4-42.9%	266	279	354	416
20.1-20.9%	298	254	360	395	37.7-40.3%	266	258	362	470
19.2-20.0%	333	358	385	423	34.8-37.6%	252	230	—	400
17.9-19.1%	369	363	377	427	32.1-34.7%	244	255	338	415
16.2-17.8%	379	387	372	449	26.6-32.0%	205	184	228	—
8.3-15.9%	409	399	451	483	13.8-26.5%	172	368	—	—

Proportion of Women 15+ Married	Median Rental				Pct. Families in One-family Dwellings	Median Rental			
	\$61.2- 151.2	\$45.3- 61.1	\$32.8- 45.1	\$13.8- 32.7		\$61.2- 151.2	\$45.3- 61.1	\$32.8- 45.1	\$13.8- 32.7
71.4-84.7%	378	395	485	548	83.3-100.0%	284	407	387	464
69.2-71.3%	373	345	391	454	70.5-83.1%	334	358	384	458
67.4-69.1%	299	353	394	420	58.2-70.1%	320	340	382	445
66.3-67.3%	309	311	357	453	50.7-58.2%	306	339	352	393
65.3-66.2%	276	307	361	369	44.0-50.5%	301	304	381	420
64.2-65.2%	281	321	343	420	37.0-43.6%	293	280	356	381
63.5-64.1%	291	315	344	416	32.3-36.9%	288	289	331	390
63.1-63.4%	283	297	305	417	28.3-32.1%	281	283	317	437
62.5-63.0%	296	280	316	414	25.2-28.2%	279	302	313	398
61.8-62.4%	245	281	329	388	22.8-25.1%	247	302	305	379
61.2-61.8%	220	272	303	365	20.8-22.7%	247	295	311	498
60.7-61.1%	235	280	296	404	18.5-20.7%	251	256	318	383
59.9-60.6%	259	286	312	372	17.0-18.4%	224	283	323	363
58.9-59.8%	246	268	307	364	15.0-16.9%	200	241	304	379
58.2-58.8%	239	255	297	365	14.1-14.9%	211	248	310	353
57.1-58.1%	226	240	301	350	12.4-14.0%	210	264	260	432
55.8-57.0%	223	246	282	329	11.1-12.3%	222	203	301	350
54.1-55.7%	223	204	281	340	8.8-11.0%	176	277	299	414
51.9-54.0%	168	199	262	341	6.9-8.7%	210	226	292	352
41.7-51.8%	148	226	185	301	.5-6.7%	165	229	244	344

in others), (c) as the proportion of women married increases, and (d) as the percent of families living in one-family dwellings increases.

An array corresponding to Table 4 was also made for each of the four factors mentioned above by rental quartiles. These are shown in Table 5. In every case, except in the importance of manufacturing array, there is a strong tendency for the ratio of children to women to increase as rental decreases when any of these other factors is held constant. Here again, we see that the proportion of workers engaged in manufacturing is not as important a factor in Chicago as several of the other factors, but it should be noted that high proportions engaged in manufacturing are not found in high rent tracts and low proportions engaged in manufacturing are not found in low rent tracts. Thus, of 250,360 women in the high rent quartile, over 163,000 are found in the four groups of tracts having the lowest proportion engaged in manufacturing, while of the 131,879 women in the lowest rental quartile, over 82,000 are found in the four groups of tracts having the highest proportion engaged in manufacturing; but when the proportion engaged in manufacturing is held constant, there is not as uniform a rise, particularly in tracts with high proportions engaged in manufacturing, in the ratios of children to women as rent decreases as there is in the case of holding constant any of the other three factors. It would appear, therefore, that descent in economic status (rental) is not as significant a factor when tracts are grouped according to importance of manufacturing as when they are grouped according to the proportion of women employed, proportion of women married, or percent living in one-family dwellings.

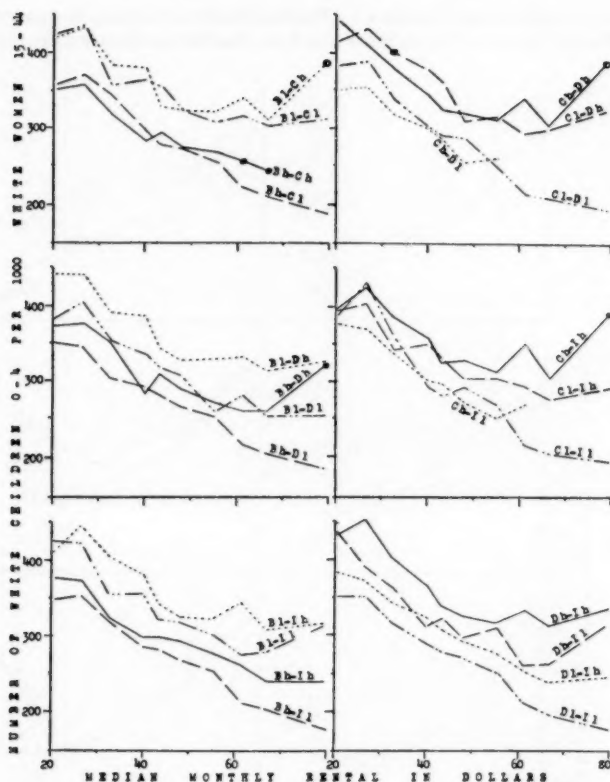
Trends in Ratios of Children to Women Shown Pictorially. The series of graphs which follow represent an attempt to secure groups of tracts of relatively homogeneous composition in one or two respects and then to show how they vary in the ratios of children to women as they vary in some other factor. It has been impossible to find relatively large groups which are entirely homogeneous even in one respect but this condition has been approximated. It is obvious that variations in ratios of children to women in otherwise homogeneous groups are of more significance than in groups which do not have any common factor of the same degree of magnitude. No attempt will be made here to discuss these graphs, each being self-explanatory. It may be noted that these graphs are merely a method of approaching partial correlation results by holding one or two factors within given limits while displaying the variations of two other factors.

Charts. In the following graphs, the ratio of children to white women is shown on the vertical scale at the left. On the horizontal scale at the bottom, a factor is shown which is believed to have some association with the ratio of children to women. In the first five charts, the four lines in each graph represent the four combinations possible when the census tracts are divided: (1) into two groups according to whether they are above or below

for
wh
tion
gra
(Di
as a
larg
ma
as i

slig
fact
acco
and
cen
mea

CHART I. RATIOS OF CHILDREN TO WOMEN PLOTTED AGAINST RENTAL, FOR HIGH AND LOW VALUES OF SELECTED ITEMS



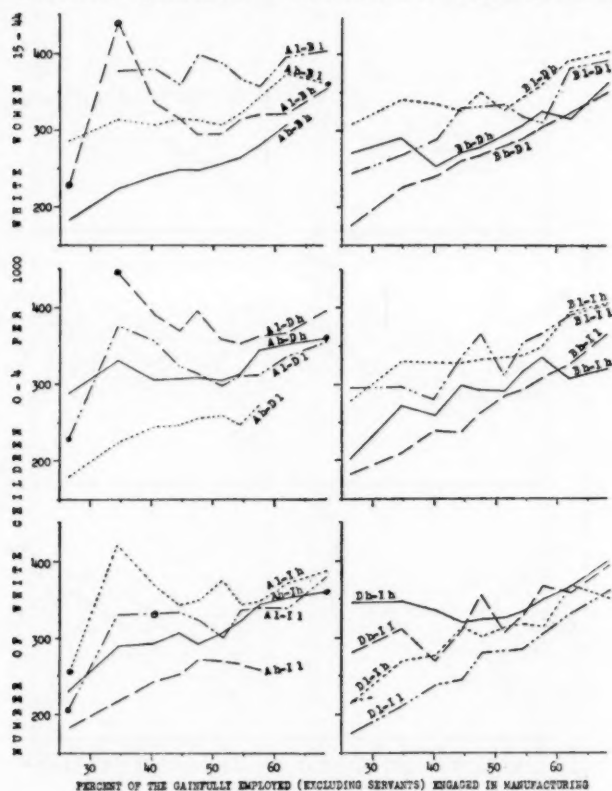
There is a marked downward trend in ratios of children to women as rent increases up to forty-five or fifty dollars. For higher rents, this trend continues in the same direction only where there is a large proportion of the women employed (Bh), and in almost the same direction where there is a low proportion of females married (Dl). However, in the center-left graph, when rents are around sixty dollars or more, the high proportion of women married (Dh) seems to be a stronger factor than the high proportion of women employed (Bh) and as a result there is an increase in ratios with increasing rent above sixty dollars even though a large proportion of women are employed (Bh). In all cases, where the proportion of women married is high (Dh), there is no decrease, and in some cases an appreciable increase, in ratios as rents increase above fifty or sixty dollars.

Comparing the lines vertically, it would appear that manufacturing is a factor of rather slight importance when rental is held constant, for the high and low lines according to manufacturing (Ch and Cl) are quite close together in both the low and high halves of the tracts according to proportion of women employed (Bl and Bh), proportion of women married (Dl and Dh), or proportion in one-family dwellings (Il and Ih). (See upper-left, upper-right, and center-right graphs). This possibly means that importance of manufacturing and rental measure somewhat the same social and economic status of the tracts.

[illegible]

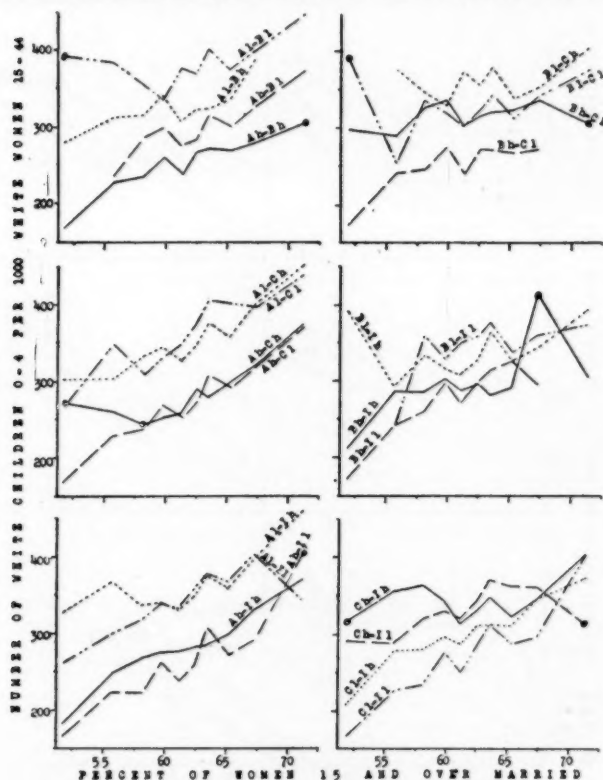
The like-pairing of the manufacturing (C) lines in the upper-right and center-right graphs in this chart and the opposite-pairing in the upper-left graph here and in the three graphs in which manufacturing appears in Chart 1 is to be explained by the intercorrelations of these factors. (See discussion in text.)

CHART 3. RATIOS OF CHILDREN TO WOMEN PLOTTED AGAINST IMPORTANCE OF MANUFACTURING, FOR HIGH AND LOW VALUES OF SELECTED FACTORS



There is a marked positive correlation between ratios of children to women and importance of manufacturing, as is shown by the upward trend of most of the lines, the exceptions being the low rent (Al) lines. There seems to be little relationship between ratios of children to women and importance of manufacturing in the half of the tracts having low rent. A clearly marked relationship appears: (a) in the half of the tracts having high rent and either high proportion of women employed (Ah-Bh) or high proportion in one-family dwellings (Ah-Ih); (b) in the half of the tracts having a high proportion of women employed (Bh) except where rent is low (Bh-Al); and (c) in the half of the tracts having a low proportion of women married (Dl) except where rent is low (Dl-Al). The relationship between ratios and manufacturing is probably greatest where few live in one-family dwellings and have either a large proportion of women employed (Il-Bh) or a small proportion of women married (Il-Dl); but is only slightly less where a large proportion of women are employed and either few are married (Bh-Dl) or rents are high (Bh-Ah).

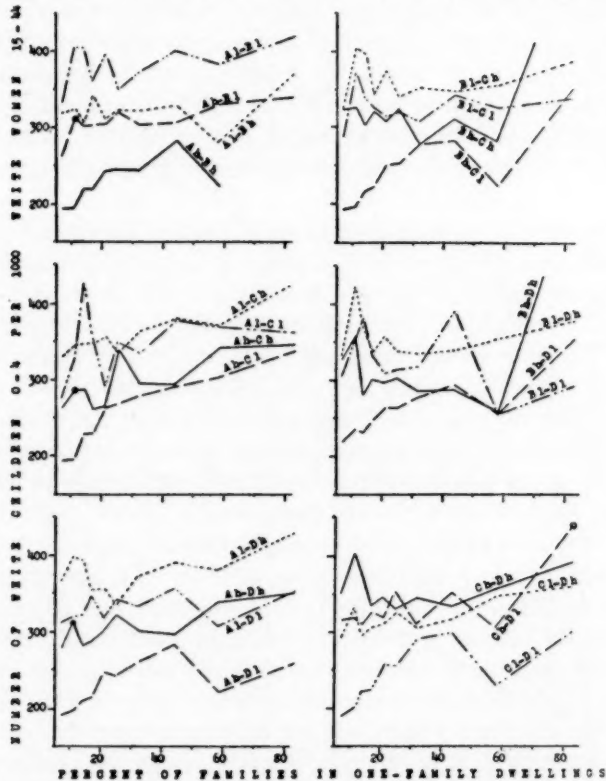
CHART 4. RATIOS OF CHILDREN TO WOMEN PLOTTED AGAINST PROPORTION OF WOMEN MARRIED, FOR HIGH AND LOW VALUES OF SELECTED FACTORS



This chart shows the direct relationship between ratios of children to women and proportion of women married to be more marked when the tracts are divided into high and low groups according to median rental (A) and importance of manufacturing (C) or rental (A) and proportion in one-family dwellings (I). However, there is little trend in the high manufacturing group when it is split into high and low proportion of women employed (Ch-Bh and Ch-BI) or into high and low proportion in one-family dwellings (Ch-Ih and Ch-II).

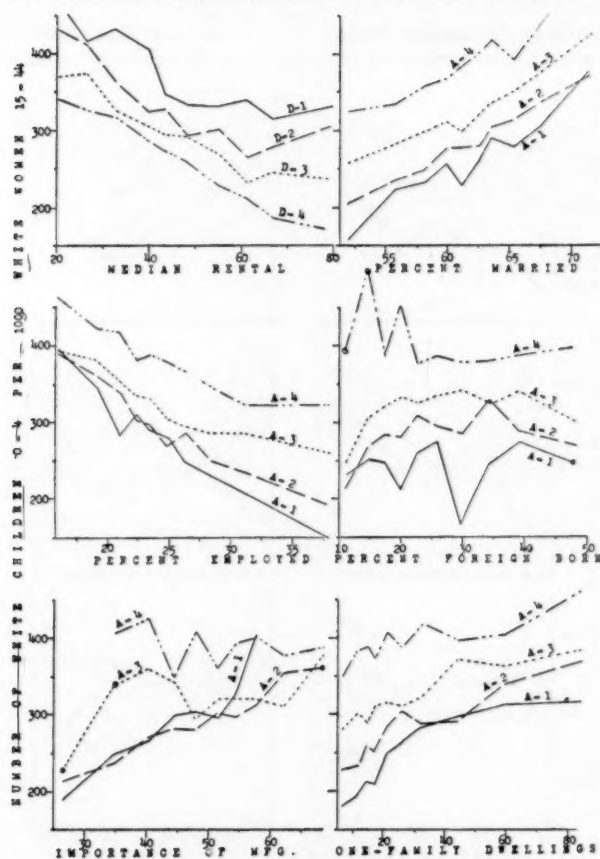
Comparing the lines vertically, we see that the high and low rent lines (Ah and Al) are quite far apart no matter how they are subdivided. The high and low importance of manufacturing lines (Ch and Cl) are quite close together when subdivided into high and low rent groups but farther apart when divided into high and low proportions in one-family dwellings (except for very high proportions of women married) or when a high proportion of women are employed. Likewise, the high and low proportion in one-family dwelling lines (Ih and Il) are close together when all tracts are subdivided into high and low rent tracts, but farther apart when subdivided according to other factors.

CHART 5. RATIOS OF CHILDREN TO WOMEN PLOTTED AGAINST PROPORTION OF FAMILIES IN ONE-FAMILY DWELLINGS, FOR HIGH AND LOW VALUES OF SELECTED FACTORS



Proportion of families in one-family dwellings seems to have only a mild association with the ratios of children to women. The chief things brought out by these graphs are that rental (A) and proportion married (D) must have opposite but approximately equal influences on ratios of children to women when proportion in one-family dwellings is held constant, for the high rent-high married (Ah-Dh) and the low rent-low married (Al-Dl) lines are quite close together in the lower-left graph; and that high and low importance of manufacturing (Ch and Cl) show little influence when proportion in one-family dwellings is held constant and all tracts are grouped according to high and low rental (Ah and Al) or high proportion married (Dh); but high and low manufacturing (Ch and Cl) show some influence when one-family dwellings is held constant with low proportion married (Dl) or high or low proportion of women employed (Bh or Bl). See center-left and lower- and upper-right graphs.

CHART 6. RATIOS OF CHILDREN TO WOMEN PLOTTED AGAINST SELECTED FACTORS, FOR TRACTS QUARTILED ACCORDING TO MEDIAN RENTAL OR PROPORTION OF WOMEN MARRIED



This chart differs from those preceding in that all tracts are divided into quartiles according to one factor (rental except in the upper-left graph where they are divided into quartiles according to proportion of women married—rental being the base scale of this graph) instead of into halves according to each of two factors; and therefore more nearly presents a picture of first order partial correlation.

The upper-left and center-left graphs confirm the facts stated in charts 1 and 2, that as rents or percent of women employed go up, ratios go down, the trend being most marked for the former when proportion of women married is low (D4) and for the latter when rent is high (A1).

When percent of women married is plotted along the base line (upper right), the high-rent quartiles have a trend of ratios with percent married similar to that with manufacturing, but unlike the manufacturing trend, the low-rent quartiles also have an upward trend in ratios with increasing proportion married.

There is little trend of ratios with percent foreign-born for either high or low rents but there seems to be a reverse trend of ratios with percent foreign-born when rents are near average (median).

Ratios increased slightly at all rentals with increasing proportions in one-family dwellings, the relationship being greater when rents are high (A1 and A2).

(Continued next page)

the median value of a particular factor, let us say proportion engaged in manufacturing (C); and (2) each of these two groups is again divided into two groups according to whether the tracts in each group under (1) are above or below the median value of a second factor, let us say, the proportion of women 10 years of age and over gainfully employed (B). Thus, the group high in the proportion engaged in manufacturing (Ch) is split into two groups according to the proportion of women 10 and over gainfully employed, Ch-Bh representing tracts having a proportion in manufacturing higher than the median as well as a proportion of women employed above the median, while Ch-Bl represents high manufacturing tracts in which the proportion of women employed is below the median. The other more important factors are treated in the same manner, so that one can compare a group of tracts in which any factor is above the median and any other factor is also above the median with a group in which the first factor is above the median while the second is below the median, and vice versa.

The letters A, B, etc., stand for the same factors as in the correlations discussed above. (See notes to Table 1). A circle around a plotted point indicates that that ratio is based on less than 1000 women 15-44.

All lines carrying the same legend represent identical tracts. Thus, Al-Bh (or Bh-Al) represents the same group of tracts in all charts.

In each chart, the solid line represents the ratios for high values of two factors and the dash and two dots represents the ratios for low value of the same two factors. Therefore, when a solid line is at the top, the factors which that line represents are either both positively associated with ratios or one factor has a fairly high positive relation and the other a negligible relation to ratios. If the solid line is at the bottom, the factors which that line represents are either both inversely associated with ratios or one factor has a fairly high inverse relation and the other a negligible relation. If the solid line is near the center of the four lines, the two factors which the line represents must tend to have compensating influences on the ratio of children to women.

In the sixth chart, the four lines of each graph represent quartile groupings according to selected factors, the line marked A-1 representing the fourth of the tracts having the highest rental and the line marked A-4 representing the fourth of the tracts having the lowest rental.

The more significant relations of each group of factors to the ratios of children to women are noted under each chart.

In all the graphs where the tracts are quartiled by rental, we find the lines representing the two high-rent quartiles quite close together and the line representing the lowest-rent tracts most widely separated from the others. This graph also shows that at any given value of each of the five factors shown here, the ratio of children falls faster in passing from the low-rental quartile (A4) to the second quartile (A3) than from A3 to A2 and from A2 to A1. A rather small increase in the average above the lowest-level rental is accompanied by a rather large decrease in ratios which becomes less as average rental rises.

NATIONALITY AND NATIVITY AS FACTORS IN MARRIAGE

JAMES H. S. BOSSARD

University of Pennsylvania

THE SUBJECT of intermarriage between different nationality and nativity groups has been neglected in sociological study seemingly in proportion to its social significance.¹ There are at least five reasons why a knowledge of intermarriage in the United States is important. They will be summarized briefly.

1. Intermarriage is an index of the assimilative process. The heterogeneity of our population will be recalled, as will also the traditional boast of this country as the great melting pot in which many diverse groups are to be fused into the American of tomorrow. Data on intermarriage indicate the extent to which this is proceeding at any one time and place, and examination of them over a period of years will reveal the changing tempo of the process.

2. Marriage being so peculiarly intimate a relationship, intermarriage is a severely realistic index of the social distance between distinctive groups and peoples living within a given area. The statistics of intermarriage constitute perhaps the most concrete measurable data on the relations of population elements to each other. The more a group marries within itself, the more intense its cultural or racial consciousness, and/or the higher the feeling of antipathy or prejudice against it; on the other hand, the higher the rate of intermarriage, other factors remaining equal, the greater the degree of social acceptance between the two population elements involved. Whatever other factors are involved in marriage selection or in social distance, our basic contention is that the facts of intermarriage can tell us much about the attitudes of population elements towards each other.

3. Intermarriage is an index of cultural similarities and dissimilarities in marriage. Various other indices of cultural background can be used, to be sure, but nationality constitutes a rough and ready index of broad cultural pattern, while the nativity class roughly indicates the stage of transition from the minutiae of the alien pattern to those of the older native stock.

4. The study of intermarriage aids us in building up an understanding of the structure and functioning of family life, as well as of the selective factors on which it rests customarily. What are the prevailing cultural combinations in marriage as indicated by nationality and nativity crossings? What percentage of all marriages are old native stock mating with old native stock? What percentage are foreign-born Italians, let us say,

¹ Almost the only large scale study of intermarriage is that made by Draschler in New York City, covering the years 1908-1912. Cf. Julius Draschler, *Democracy and Assimilation*, New York, 1920. Consult particularly chapter V.

mating with each other? What proportion of marriages involve a crossing of nationality or nativity lines, or both? To what extent is cultural similarity, as evidenced by nationality and nativity, a factor in marriage selection? Only by building up the picture of factual material of this sort do we come to understand the character and complexity of marriage and family life; only as this picture has been built up do we find ourselves in a position to evaluate scientifically the significance of deviations from this control background.

5. In the study of personality problems, particularly those of children, much has been said in recent years of the cultural or sociological approach.² This approach follows the late Charles H. Cooley in seeing the "self as a social product," in emphasizing that behavior represents a definition of the situation in which one finds oneself. Because of its prior, constant, and comprehensive role in soliciting and conditioning the responses of the young, family situations are considered of outstanding importance in this approach, and the cultural minutiae and the cultural pattern and values of the family become of primary concern. Proceeding on this basis, then, what is the significance of the fact that Cecilia Riley's mother was born in Sicily and her father's father migrated many years ago from County Cork in Ireland? How prevalent are such combinations? What are the cultural similarities, contrasts, conflicts in such a home by virtue of the nationality and nativity backgrounds which are combined?

An Excellent Source of Data on Inter-marriage. A rich vein of sociological data is contained in the marriage statistics, published as part of the annual health reports of New York, exclusive of New York City. The data included gives information on the nationality, and by standard nativity classes, of both parties to each marriage reported; and the representative character of this data may be gathered from the following facts about the population of New York exclusive of New York City. As of 1930, the population of this area was more than five and a half million (5,657,620); slightly more than half, 52.5 percent, was native-born white of native-born white parentage, 30 percent was native-born white of foreign or mixed parentage, 16 percent was foreign-born white, and the rest (1.6 percent) was colored. The distribution between urban and rural marriages was almost equal. In 1936, the last year for which published statistics are available at the present writing, 68,196 marriages were reported.

Questions and Answers about Inter-marriage. To answer some basic questions about intermarriage, an analysis of 68,196 marriages reported in New York in 1936 was made. Some of the results obtained are presented herewith in brief form.³

² Ernest W. Burgess, "The Cultural Approach to the Study of Personality," *Mental Hygiene*, April 1930, 307-325.

³ More extended data and analyses are presented as part of a book by the author entitled *Marriage and the Child*, to be published by the University of Pennsylvania Press.

The term intermarriage is restricted in this article to mean internationality and internativity marriages. Thinking only of these two factors, an intermarriage may be (a) a marriage between different nativity groups, such as a foreign-born groom marrying a native-born white bride of native-born white parents; (b) a marriage between different nationalities in the same nativity class, such as a groom born in Poland marrying a bride born in Germany; (c) a marriage which crosses both a nationality and nativity line, as when a foreign-born German groom marries a bride born in this country, of Italian-born parents. In the interests of further clarity, the particular variety of intermarriage considered at any time will be specified. Our study furthermore is confined to marriages in which both parties were white.

1. *What is the extent of intermarriage?* On the basis of almost 70,000 marriages in New York state in 1936, the following facts stand out.

(a) Two out of every five marriages, 37.8 percent, were internativity marriages.

(b) Adding to the internativity marriages those which combined different nationalities within the same nativity class, the result obtained equals almost half, 48.7 percent, of the total number of marriages.

To summarize, then, in the form of a general statement, one half, 48.7 percent, of all the marriages were intermarriages in that they crossed either a nativity or a nationality line, or both; and the other half, 51.3 percent, were marriages in which both parties were of the same nativity, in the case of the native-born white of native-born parents, and, in the case of those of foreign stock, were of the same nationality and nativity. Incidentally, it might be noted that, of the total marriage of whites, in which all the facts of nativity and nationality are known, 41 percent were marriages of the old native stock, i.e., native-born whites of native-born white parents, within its own nativity class.

2. *What proportion of the men and women in each nativity class marry within that class, and what percentage cross the nativity line?* Do different nativity groups vary in this respect? Do men and women differ in this respect? These questions approach the data from the standpoint of the nativity and nationality groups, rather than from the total number of white marriages, and the data warrant the following answers.

(a) There is a marked tendency for the native-born whites of native-born parents to marry among themselves. The percentages are 72.7 and 70.1 for men and women, respectively.

(b) The tendency of the native-born with one parent native-born and one parent foreign-born is to marry into the native-born of native parent nativity class. The percentages are 55.2 and 51.0 respectively, for men and women.

(c) The native-born of foreign parentage tend to marry among themselves, with percentages of 50.4 and 49.0.

(d) About one third, 32.6 percent, of the foreign-born men, and almost half, 43.9 percent, of the foreign-born women, married within their own nativity class. Next, in relative proportions, they marry into the second generation, the native-born of foreign parents, so that two thirds of each sex, 65.5 and 65.6 percent, of the foreign-born marry into their own or the second generation.

(e) Women tend to marry outside of their nativity class more than men. The only exception is in the case of the foreign-born women, and the deviation there is due undoubtedly to the preponderance of marriageable males in that nativity class.

3. *To what extent do the different nationality groups marry into the old native stock?* How is this rate of intermarriage affected in each nationality group by nativity changes, i.e., do the Polish of the second generation marry into the old native stock more often than the first generation, and if so, how much oftener? Do men or women, in the various nationality groups, marry oftener into the native-born whites of native-born white parentage? Do the different nationalities group themselves in any way in this respect?

The accompanying Table 1 has been arranged from materials published in the New York state reports. It shows the percentage of men and women marrying in each of three nativity classes, of ten separate nationalities, who marry into the native-born white of native-born white nativity class. In the form in which the data is presented, the answer to these questions is clearly revealed. Considered carefully, this table is a remarkable study in social distance, as revealed by the statistics of life's most intimate relationship. At least four conclusions may be drawn from this table.

(a) The extent of intermarriage with the old native stock varies directly in each nationality group with the length of residence in the United States, as measured in terms of nativity changes. The percentages are lowest in each nationality, and for both sexes, in the first generation; they rise in each nationality and for both sexes, in the second generation, i.e., among those born here of foreign-born parents; and they are markedly higher if only one parent is of foreign extraction.

(b) The percentage of intermarriage with the old native stock varies considerably from one nationality group to another. It is lowest in each nativity class for the Russians, and highest for the Canadian and English groups. In the case of the Russians, the situation is affected by the fact that many of them are of Jewish descent.

(c) Cultural similarities and dissimilarities are important factors in marriage selection. From one point of view, this is the meaning of the in-

TABLE 1. INTERMARRIAGE WITH THE NATIVE-BORN WHITE OF NATIVE-BORN WHITE PARENTS, BY NATIONALITY, NATIVITY, AND SEX, NEW YORK STATE, 1936

Nationality	Percent Marrying Native-Born Whites of Native-Born White Parents					
	Foreign-Born		Native-Born of Foreign-Born Parents		Native-Born of Mixed Parentage	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
GROUP A						
Austria	25.1	13.4	29.6	29.4	43.1	42.5
Hungary	25.9	18.2	29.9	28.7	35.7	43.3
Italy	11.9	5.8	21.3	15.3	34.3	24.0
Poland	9.4	12.6	18.5	19.4	24.8	26.6
Russia	9.8	7.9	18.1	11.9	25.0	17.4
GROUP B						
Canada	41.1	40.2	52.0	47.4	63.8	58.6
Denmark						
Norway	29.2	23.9	52.4	47.0	64.2	58.9
Sweden						
England						
Scotland	41.4	37.9	55.8	56.7	62.1	60.6
Wales						
Germany	27.1	20.9	51.1	43.9	57.6	56.4
Ireland	26.8	21.5	49.0	48.7	56.7	54.9

crease of intermarriage shown in each nativity included in Table 1. Even more striking confirmation of the role of cultural factors is to be found in the way in which the ten nationalities group themselves. Group A, in Table 1, composed of nationalities which have come out of a southeastern European cultural background, marries rather less into the old native stock than does the more culturally similar northeastern European Group B. Furthermore, within each group, the individual nationality varies on the basis of the similarity or difference of its cultural background to that of the old native element in New York state. In Group A, for example, Austria and Hungary differ from Italy, Poland, and Russia; while in Group B, the English and Canadian nationalities differ from the others. Note in particular the high rate of marriage with the old native stock by first generation English and Canadians.

(d) In most of the specific nationality and nativity classes, men are more prone than women to marry into the old native stock. Only Poland seems to be an exception.

4. *Whom do the foreign-born marry?* To what extent do they marry among themselves, within their own nationality, within their own nativity class, or into their own nationality group in the next nativity class? Are there any outstanding differences between men and women in these respects?

(a) About one fourth, 23.7 percent, of the foreign-born men and a third,

31.8 percent, of the foreign-born women who marry find their mates in their own nationality and their own nativity class. This tendency is least pronounced among the Austrian, English, and Canadians, and most among the Irish and Italians.

(b) In two out of five cases, 42.8 of the male and 40.8 of the female, the foreign-born marry into their own nationality, first or second generation. This tendency toward intranationality marriages varies from one nationality to another, being most pronounced among the Italians, and least among the Canadians. Among the older immigrant groups, this tendency is strongest among the Irish, often identified as a very clannish group.

(c) Disregarding nationality lines, and confining our attention to nativity classes, it is found that three out of every four of the foreign-born who marry find their mates among the foreign white stock, i.e., the foreign-born and the native-born of foreign parentage.

5. *Whom do the second generation, i.e., the native-born of foreign parents, marry?* To what extent do they continue to marry within their own nationality, and their own nativity?

(a) It is particularly significant to note that taking the ten leading nationalities in New York state together, one out of three, 31.4 and 31.1 percent for men and women respectively, marry within their own nationality and their own nativity. This compares with percentages of 23.7 and 31.8 of the first generation in these same nationality groups.

(b) Almost two out of every five persons of the second generation, 38.7 and 42.3 percent, marry within their own nationality group, when all nativity classes are combined. This is but slightly less than the percentages, 46.0 and 43.7, in the first generation. In other words, taken as a whole, the second generation tend to marry about as much within themselves as does the first generation.

(c) Broken down into separate nationality groups, this tendency varies considerably from one group to another. For seven out of ten nationality groups, it is considerably below the average. It is principally the Italians, Poles, and Russians who raise the average. For example, more than half of the second generation Italians find their mates in their own nationality and nativity, and three fourths in their own nationality, combining the nativities.

(d) Roughly speaking, in seven out of ten cases, the second generation in the ten selected nationalities marry either foreign-born persons, or native-born of foreign or mixed parents. The percentages are 68.3 and 73.0 respectively.

Summary. From a consideration of the foregoing data, two summary facts stand out which may be briefly outlined by way of conclusion.

First, when marriage is considered on both a nativity and a nationality basis, there is a significant amount of intermarriage. To the extent that

nationality is indicative of a specific culture pattern, and to the extent that nativity class is expressive of degree of modification of that pattern, there is a corresponding amount of cultural blending or fusion in the marriages now being consummated. At first glance, this is apt to be interpreted as indicative of a marked tendency of different groups to marry with each other. More careful reflection, however, mindful of the existence of four white nativity classes and many different nationalities, is apt to see the percentage of intermarriage in large part as the inevitable consequence of the number and variety of diverse groups and classes involved.

Emphasizing this latter interpretation is the second fact to be noted, viz., that the leading nationalities tend to marry largely within their own groups, or at least their own nativity class. Particularly is this true in the case of those nationalities whose cultural backgrounds are dissimilar to that prevailing in upstate New York. Moreover, this tendency continues in the second generation to about the same extent as in the first.

In other words, the melting pot bubbles actively, because there are so many diverse ingredients in it; it fuses somewhat less than one is apt to suppose.

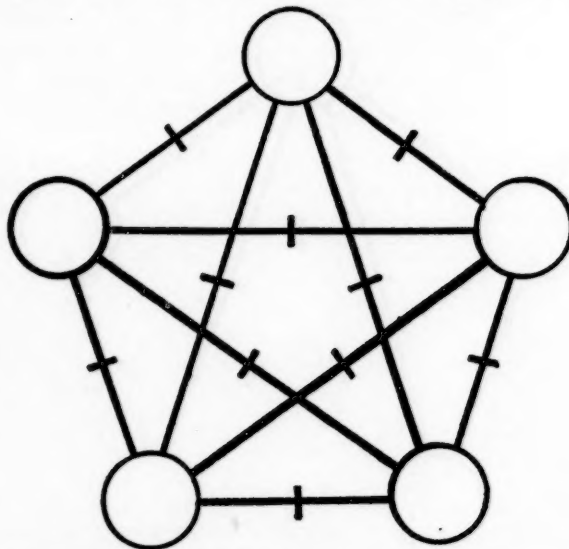
SOCIOMETRY OF MORALE

LESLIE DAY ZELENY

State Teachers College
St. Cloud, Minnesota

I *Morale of the Group.* Morale, when defined as the "shared feeling of like" among the members of a group, may exist in varying degrees; consequently, it may be hypothesized that morale can be measured mathematically. When N equals the number of attitudes (tensions) of

SOCIOGRAM I. GRAPHIC EXPRESSION FOR A MORALE QUOTIENT OF 1.00



Attitude of "like" ———|; attitude of "indifference" or "dislike" - - - -|. $N=20$; $I=1$;
 $T=20$. $M=N \times I / T$ or $20 \times 1 / 20 = 1.00$ (*morale quotient*).

"like" received by the persons in a group from the other members of the same group, I stands for the average intensity of the attitudes, and T equals the total possible number of attitudes of "like" which might be received, then, $N \times I / T = M$, the *morale quotient*¹ (Equation 1). The *morale quotient* is the ratio of "likes" received (times their average intensity) to the total possible "likes" which might be received.² For example, when

¹ This formula is an adaptation of the *equilibration ratio* proposed by Stuart C. Dodd in "A Tension Theory of Societal Action," *Amer. Sociol. Rev.*, 4: 56-77, Feb., 1939 and the *attraction quotient* used by J. L. Moreno in *Who Shall Survive? A New Approach to the Problem of Human Relations*, 101, Washington, D. C., 1934.

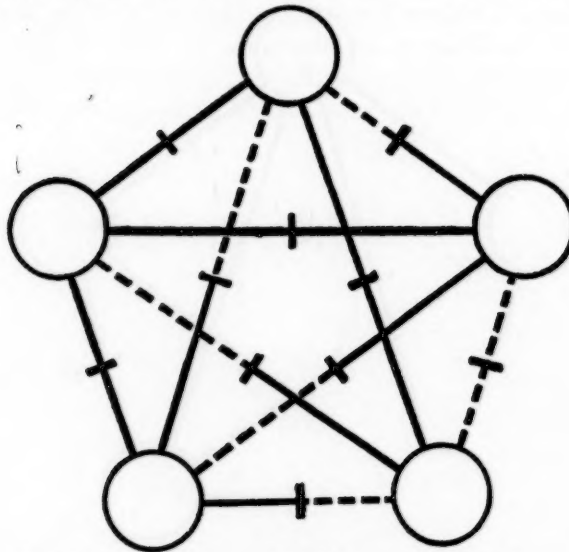
² For practical purposes, the intensities of I are taken as unity. See Section II below for an approach to the measurement of the intensity of attitudes. See also Leslie Day Zeleny, "Measurement of Social Status," *Amer. J. Sociol.* to be published in 1940.

$N=20$; $I=1$; and $T=20$, the Equation 1 may be solved as follows: $20 \times 1/20 = 1.00$ or M , the *morale quotient*. In this case M , the *morale quotient*, equals 1.00 and means a complete sharing of "like," unity of interaction.

The following *sociogram* (after Moreno, *op. cit.*) shows graphically the group relations represented by a *morale quotient* of 1.00. Each circle represents a person who might receive a maximum of four attitudes of "like," consequently, the total possible number of attitudes that might be expressed is 20.

Take another case. When $N=13$, $I=1$, and $T=20$, the equation for the *morale quotient* may be solved as follows: $13 \times 1/20 = .65$, the *morale quotient*. The following *sociogram* shows a *morale quotient* of .65 graphically.

SOCIÖGRAM 2. GRAPHIC EXPRESSION FOR A MORALE QUOTIENT OF .65



Attitude of "like" ———|; attitude of "indifference" or "dislike" - - -|. $N=13$; $I=1$; $T=20$. $M=N \times I/T$ or $13 \times 1/20 = .65$ (*morale quotient*).

Let us take an actual example. In Table I is given the attitudes of "like," "indifference," and "dislike" expressed by each person in a community of three groups of five persons each toward every other person in the community. The criterion for the expression of the attitude was, "How do you feel about working with them in a class learning group?" See Section III for the method of obtaining attitudes.

The *morale quotients* for each of the three groups are as follows: Group I, $M=17 \times 1/20 = .85$; Group II, $M=12 \times 1/20 = .60$; Group III, $M=18 \times 1/20 = .90$. In this manner *morale quotients* may be computed for many kinds of groups.

II. Morale of the Individual. Morale also has its individual aspects which may be expressed in terms of the adjustment of the individual to the group. A person *accepted* by all the members of a group to which he belongs and who in turn *accepts* all of them may be considered well adjusted; conversely, one not accepted or rejected by the members of a group and failing to accept them is poorly adjusted. Between these two extremes are varying

TABLE I. TABULATION OF ATTITUDES EXPRESSED BY EACH PERSON IN A COMMUNITY OF THREE GROUPS TOWARD EVERY OTHER PERSON IN THE COMMUNITY

Persons		Persons														
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
	1	—	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
	2	1	—	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0
	3	1	1	—	1	1	1	1	1	—1	0	1	—1	1	1	0
	4	—1	0	1	—	1	1	0	1	—1	1	1	1	1	1	0
	5	1	1	1	1	—	1	1	1	—1	1	—1	0	1	1	0
		Group I														
	6	0		0	0	1	—	1	1	—1	0	—1	—1	0	1	0
	7	1	1	1	1	0	1	—	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	1
	8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	—	0	1	1	—1	1	1	1
	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	—	0	1	0	1	1	0
	10	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	—1	—	0	—1	1	0	1
		Group II														
	11	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	—	1	1	1	1
	12	1	1	—1	1	1	1	—1	1	—1	1	0	—	1	1	1
	13	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	—	1	1
	14	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	—	1
	15	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	—
		Group III														

1 = attitude of "like"; 0 = attitude of "indifference"; —1 = attitude of "dislike." Attitudes given are in the rows; attitudes received are in the columns.

degrees of individual adjustment to the group. Again, it may be hypothesized that since social adjustment may exist in different amounts it may be measured.³

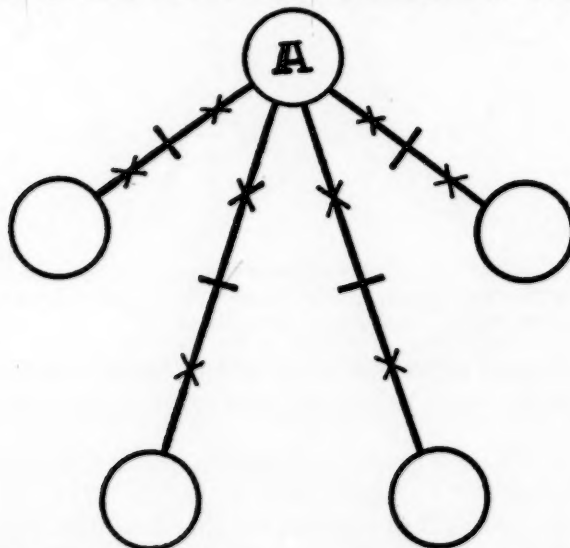
For example, the total possible number of adjustment tensions ("acceptances," "indifferents," or "rejections") of a person, whom we shall hereafter call *A*, in a group of five members is eight—four from *A* to each of the others and four from each other person to *A*. If each of these tensions is one of acceptance, then *A* is perfectly adjusted; that is, all of the eight tensions are those of acceptance. If, on the other hand, each of the tensions is one of indifference or rejection, then *A* is poorly adjusted to the group.

³ The writer again wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to J. L. Moreno, *op. cit.*

Allowance can also be made for the *intensity* of acceptances by giving added weight to any acceptance to which has been added a *choice* by another from among the first four or five persons in the community of groups.⁴ For example, the average intensity of two ordinary acceptances is one; but if there is added to the acceptances a choice for each one, then the average intensity of the acceptances is two.

The above facts may be expressed in a mathematical formula. When T equals the total possible number of adjustment tensions, A equals the number of acceptances, and I equals the average intensity of the acceptances, then $A \times I / T = SAR$, the *social adjustment ratio*⁵ (Equation 2). Two examples will show how this formula operates. In a group of five persons, A is accepted by and accepts four persons; furthermore, all of the acceptances are augmented by choices. Thus, $T=8$, $A=8$, and $I=2$. I is computed by counting each acceptance as one unit of intensity and each choice as an additional unit. Since there are in this case 16 units of intensity for only eight acceptances, the average intensity is 2. Applying the formula we have: $8 \times 2 / 8 = 2.0$, the social adjustment ratio. A social adjustment ratio of 2 indicates exceptionally good social adjustment. See Sociogram 3 below.

SOCIOGRAM 3. GRAPHIC EXPRESSION FOR A SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT RATIO OF 2.0



"Acceptance" represented by ———; "acceptance" plus "choice" represented by —X—; "indifference" or "rejection" represented by - - - . $A=8$; $T=8$; $I=2$. $SAR=8 \times 2 / 8 = 2.0$ (social adjustment ratio).

⁴ See instructions in the Group Preference Record below, Section III.

⁵ The SAR is an adaptation of the *equilibration ratio* proposed by Stuart C. Dodd, *op. cit.*

A case of exceptional lack of social adjustment can be treated mathematically and graphically in the same manner. *A* accepts no one in the group and is accepted by no one, and there are no choices made. Applying the formula we have: $0 \times 0 / 8 = 0$, the social adjustment ratio. Again, we may show "normal" social adjustment. *A* accepts all members of his group and is accepted by all; there are no choices. Applying the formula, we have: $8 \times 1 / 8 = 1.00$, the social adjustment ratio.

The *social adjustment ratio* may also be computed by formula for an individual within a total community of groups. For example, a person is a member of a community of three groups of five members each. In this case, $T = 28$, the total possible number of acceptances. He is accepted four times and chosen four times. The intensity of the acceptance is two. Applying the formula we have: $4 \times 2 / 28 = .285$, the social adjustment ratio. In this manner the social adjustment of persons in large and small groups may be computed.

III. A Measure of Attitudes. The determination of *morale quotients* and *social adjustment ratios* is dependent upon a reliable and valid measure of attitudes, including acceptances and choices. We find an adaptation of the sociometric test suitable for this purpose. We call it the Group Preference Record.⁶

GROUP PREFERENCE RECORD⁷

Name _____ Group Number _____ Date _____

On this sheet is a list of the names of all the members of the class. Will you please indicate how you feel about working with them in a class learning group? Those you choose may be assigned to your group later. The information you give will be treated confidentially and used for the improvement of class groups and for scientific study.

Instruction 1. Put a figure "1" to the *left* of the name of the person who is your first choice for membership in a class learning group of which you may be a member. Continue until you have made *five* choices in order from first choice to fifth choice. Put all answers to the left of the names.

Instruction 2. To the right of each name indicate how you feel about having this person as a member of your class learning group. If you would like the person in your group, encircle "L" for "like"; if you would dislike the person in your group, encircle "D" for "dislike"; if you have no feeling one way or the other toward the person, encircle "I" for "indifferent."

Remember, those you choose now may be later assigned to your class learning group.

1	Names	2
First five	Richard Roe	Feeling toward
choices	John Doe...	each
.....		L D I
.....		L D I

⁶ See W. I. Newstetter, *Group Adjustment: A Study in Experimental Sociology*, Cleveland, Western Reserve University, 1938, especially page 137 on which is given the Personal Preference Questionnaire.

⁷ The Group Preference Record with an account of its reliability and validity is also published in my article, "Measurement of Social Status," *op. cit.*

The responses of every individual in a community of groups to every other individual in the community, as revealed by the completed Group Preference Records can be tabulated as a preliminary to mathematical interpretation. (See Table 1.) From these tabulations, *morale quotients* and *social adjustment ratios* can be computed.

The reliability of the choices made on this test is indicated in the following correlations (product moment method) between administrations to the same community of groups on successive days:

Trial	N	r	P.E. _r
1	15	.950	.033
2	35	.938	.024
3	34	.940	.024

The reliability of the "likes" or "acceptances" is shown by similar correlations made between successive administrations:

Trial	N	r	P.E. _r
1	15	.910	.029
2	34	.916	.019
3	35	.947	.011

The meaning of these correlations must be discounted somewhat, however, because the expressions of "like" were not always consistent. It was possible for a person to receive, on two administrations of the sociometric test the same number of "likes" but from different persons, in part. The degree of this inconsistency is shown as follows:

Trial	N	Number of "likes" received	Average number of inconsistencies	Percent inconsistencies
1	15	14	1.4	10.0
2	34	33	5.7	17.3
3	35	34	4.9	14.4

This tendency toward inconsistency reduces the reliability (and validity) of the test somewhat and must be considered in interpreting results. However, since most *MQ*'s and *SAR*'s are computed with reference to small primary groups, the error probably is not large. We conclude that the Group Preference Record is a relatively reliable measure.

The reliability of *morale quotients* was also computed directly. This calculation reduced inconsistencies because *morale quotients* are based only upon attitudes expressed among persons in most intimate personal contact in primary groups. *Morale quotients* were computed for successive administrations of the *Group Preference Record* to a total of 33 groups. Product moment correlations between the successive administrations were as follows:

Trial	N	rho	r	P.E. _r
1	7	.85	.861	.066
2	10	—	.926	.030
3	6	—	.965	.019
4	10	—	.819	.057

Again, a high reliability is shown.

The validity of the Group Preference Record is indicated by some preliminary correlations. A correlation between total "likes" or "acceptances" received and leadership ratings of the same persons determined by an administration of the five-man-to-man leadership rating scale⁸ was $.538 \pm .082$; and a correlation between "choices" and leadership ratings was $.874 \pm .027$ ($N=35$).

Validity is also indicated by certain logical considerations. *Morale quotients* and *social adjustment ratios* have been shown to be mathematical expressions of their definitions. Also, the measure has been shown to be a reliable measure of attitudes of "like," "acceptances," and "choices" received, and these attitudes are the bases of the equations. Again, in filling out the Record, persons have a genuine incentive to be accurate because they are choosing members of active groups of which they are likely to be members.

In an attempt to establish the validity of the *morale quotient* itself, a correlation with an outside criterion was used. A Group Morale Blank was prepared as follows:

GROUP MORALE BLANK

Morale is the "shared feeling of like" in a group.

This is a form upon which you record the extent to which you experienced a feeling of shared or mutual like toward the group of which you have been a member during the hour now closing.

Consult no one. Endeavor to free yourself from bias or desire to please or displease anyone. You are not to sign your name; consequently, you may feel absolutely free to indicate the facts as you know them.

To what extent did you experience "shared or mutual feelings of like"? Mark an "X" on the line above the correct answer.

Experienced strong feelings of mutual dis- like	Experienced mild feelings of mutual dis- like	Participated without much feeling of like or dislike	Experienced mild feelings of mutual like	Experienced strong feelings of mutual like
--	--	---	--	--

This Blank was administered on two successive days to the same persons (in the same groups) who filled out the Group Preference Record. *Special morale ratios* were computed for each group marking the Blank in the following manner: in scoring, the response, "experienced strong feelings of

⁸ See De Alton Partridge, *Leadership Among Adolescent Boys*, New York, Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1934.

mutual dislike" was given the weight of "1"; the other responses were given weights of "2," "3," "4," and "5" in order from left to right. If everyone in a group of five marked an "X" above "experienced strong feelings of mutual like," the morale score would be 25—the highest possible. Actual scores were added together for each group and divided by the highest possible morale score to obtain a *special morale ratio*. For example, a group score of 20 divided by 25 equals .80, the *special morale ratio*.⁹

Correlations were computed between *morale quotients* and *morale ratios* with the following results:

Trial	N	r
1	10	.701
2	10	.750

In view of the correlations of "likes" and "choices" on the Record and *morale quotients* with outside criteria and the logical considerations, we conclude that *morale quotients* and *social adjustment ratios* as computed by formula are, within limits, valid.

IV. Control of Morale. The reliability and validity of the formulas for both individual and group morale being established within limits, one is in a position to control morale. With the tabulations before him (see Table 1), one may build groups (first on paper and then in reality) with different degrees of morale.

The following figures show the manner in which *morale quotients* were changed by the re-forming of groups in two communities of groups in two different classrooms:

Trial	N	Average M before control	Average M after control	Amount of change	Percent of change
1	3	.733	.90	+.167	+23.2
2	7	.764	.914	+.150	+19.6

These marked positive changes were not an accident. For example, comparison of two uncontrolled groups showed relatively little change. In Trial 1, fourteen days separated the two administrations of the Record; in Trial 2, one day intervened. The figures showing little change in uncontrolled groups follow:

Trial	N	First average M	Second average M	Amount of change	Percent of change
1	7	.784	.743	-.041	-5.2
2	10	.755	.755	0.0	0.0

In this manner, the measurement and control of morale may be carried out in any communities of groups: office communities, school communities,

⁹ The reliability of the Group Morale Blank was determined by correlating the morale ratios determined by two successive administrations of the Blank to 10 groups; $r = .745$.

city communities, etc. If group morale is related to individual happiness, then perhaps happiness itself can be measured and controlled.

TABLE 2. DISTRIBUTION OF SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT RATIOS IN A COMMUNITY OF 44 COLLEGE STUDENTS

Student	SAR	
37	1.00	
15	.93	
18	.91	
28	.88	
2	.88	
21	.86	+1 SD Outstanding Social Adjustment
42	.81	
23	.81	
12	.81	
19	.79	
16	.79	
17	.77	
32	.74	
10	.67	
3	.67	
6	.67	
22	.65	
7	.58	
29	.58	
44	.56	
38	.56	
13	.54	
4	.51	
36	.51	Mean "Normal" Social Adjustment
8	.49	
35	.47	
1	.47	
11	.44	
25	.44	
40	.44	
27	.44	
31	.42	
26	.42	
34	.37	
35	.35	
20	.35	
43	.33	
14	.30	
9	.30	
30	.30	-1 SD Outstanding Lack of Social Adjustment
24	.28	
41	.28	
33	.21	
5	.11	

Within limits, the control of individual morale or adjustment to the group is possible. For example: one may locate the *social adjustment ratios* in a

community of groups. In one classroom, there were computed 44 *SAR*'s distributed as shown in Table 2. The *SAR*'s range from a low of .11 to a high of 1.00. None approached the theoretical high of 2.00 indicating that there was much room for improvement. The mean was .56—probably more nearly "normal" than the theoretical *SAR* of 1.00. Outstanding social adjustment may be considered that above .77, one standard deviation above the mean. Lack of social adjustment may be more than one standard deviation below the mean—in this case, below *SAR* .35.

The interpretation of *SAR*'s for a group of individuals in the manner indicated above makes the control of social adjustment possible, within limits. For example, the adjustment of student *X* in one small group was indicated by an *SAR* of .25. Using a sociometric table as a guide, *X* was placed in a newly created group of persons mutually acceptable to one another. Here, his *SAR* was 1.9. In this manner, the happiness of *X*, at least his social adjustment, was controlled. *X* still had a problem of adjustment to the community. At the beginning of the experiment, his adjustment to the larger community was .50 and after the change it was .57, a relatively small change.

Conclusion. It was a hypothesis of this study that morale, defined as the "shared feeling of like" in a group could be measured and controlled. The formula, $N \times I / T = M$, was devised for the determination of the *morale quotient*. It was found that, with the use of the *Group Preference Record*, *morale quotients* determined by the formula were both reliable and valid. Also, new combinations of persons in a community of groups, it was shown, could be made to increase the *morale quotient* about 20 percent.

It was further hypothesized that individual adjustment, defined as the degree of reciprocated acceptance of an individual by a group, could be measured and controlled. The formula, $A \times I / T = SAR$, was devised for the determination of the *social adjustment ratio*, which was shown to have validity and which could be controlled.

We conclude, therefore, that morale in both its group and individual aspects can, within defined limits, be measured and controlled.

THE STUDY OF VOTING BEHAVIOR BY CORRELATIONAL TECHNIQUES

HAROLD F. GOSNELL AND NORMAN PEARSON

University of Chicago

PUBLIC opinion as reflected in the election returns may be studied in several ways. Some statistical studies of voting behavior have relied upon data from official sources and others upon the collection of original data. Data from official sources may refer to certain geographical units or to individual persons. Since the secrecy of the ballot requires that all election returns in the United States be reported by territorial units rather than by individuals, the former type of information is by far the most extensive. These units—states, counties, cities, towns, wards, precincts—vary widely in size and in the manner in which they are reported.¹ The most elaborate collection of voting returns in the United States is that of E. E. Robinson, *The Presidential Vote, 1896-1932*, in which the figures are given by counties for all of the states of the Union.

Official records have been used to make studies of popular participation in elections and also to analyze the influences associated with voting behavior.² The census figures and voting returns have been used to make elaborate statistical studies of voting behavior in Iowa, Illinois, and certain northern states taken as a whole.³ Such variables as the foreign-born percentage, the urban percentage, the Catholic percentage, the percentage voting wet, the median rental, unemployment, the percentage of home owners, the percentage finishing high school, the percentage living at present address less than one year, the net corn loss, the percentage of farm conveniences, the average value of land and buildings per farm, and other variables, have been related to the voting records in one or another of these jurisdictions. Correlational and factorial techniques have been employed to study the interrelationships of such variables.

In the present analysis, attention will be directed to the use of correlational techniques and the figures will relate to voting behavior in the ninety-nine counties of the state of Iowa during the past twelve years.⁴ The first

¹ C. E. Merriam and L. Overacker, *Primary Elections*, Appendix B. Bibliography and Sources for Statistical Materials for Primary Elections and Returns, pp. 405-27; I. G. Swisher, "Election Statistics in U. S." *Amer. Pol. Sci. Rev.*, 27: 422, June 1933.

² Charles Titus, *Voting Behavior in the United States*, Berkeley, 1935; H. F. Gosnell, *Why Europe Votes*, Chicago, 1930; and also his "Statisticians and Political Scientists," *Amer. Pol. Sci. Rev.* 27: 392-403, June 1933.

³ W. F. Ogburn and N. S. Talbot, "The Measurement of the Factors in the Presidential Election of 1928," *Social Forces*, December 1929, 8: 175-183; C. H. Woody, *The Case of Frank L. Smith*, Chicago, 1931; J. A. Neprash, *The Brookhart Campaigns in Iowa*, New York, 1932; H. F. Gosnell, *Machine Politics: Chicago Model*, Chicago, 1937.

⁴ An article by the authors describing the economic and political implications of these data will appear shortly.

problem is to select variables which will have some relation to significant hypotheses regarding voting behavior. Table 1 gives some of the characteristics of the variables chosen. It was decided to seek an explanation for the behavior of the voters in the 1932 and 1936 elections in this typical farm state. The first hypothesis investigated was the one advanced by a number of close observers of Iowa politics. It was contended that the Roosevelt vote in 1932 was a combination of the traditional Democratic vote and the Progressive vote in the state. What is the best way of measuring these two influences? It was decided to analyze the relationship of the Roosevelt 1932 vote (as expressed by a percentage of the total vote in that

TABLE 1. VARIABLES USED IN STUDY OF VOTING BEHAVIOR IN IOWA, 1924-1936

Candidate or Issue	Variable Symbols	Percentage* for State	Low	Mean	High	Standard Deviation
President, Rep., 1924	<i>a</i>	55.3	34	54.9	69	7.8
President, Dem., 1928	<i>c</i>	37.8	23	37.4	67	7.8
Brookhart Rep. Primary, 1932	<i>u</i>	14.4	3	16.2	49	8.7
President, Dem., 1932	<i>e</i>	59.1	46	60.0	76	6.4
President, Dem., 1936	<i>i</i>	56.0	41	55.5	69	6.1
Shift, 1932-1936	<i>l</i>	-3.1	-14	-4.5	+9	5.0
Rural Farm Population, 1930	<i>m</i>	39.0	7	48.6	70	14.3
Repeal Vote, 1933	<i>n</i>	60.2	22	55.1	94	16.0
Corn Loss Index, 1935-1936	<i>v</i>	-36.4	-10	-41.3	-97	21.1
Native White of Native Parents, 1930	<i>w</i>	68.7	40	69.4	93	12.1

* Given only as between two candidates except for President 1924.

year) to the Coolidge vote in 1924 (expressed as a percentage of the combined Coolidge, Davis, and La Follette vote). The Coolidge percentage was selected since it is the complement of the combined Democratic and Progressive vote in 1924. If the hypothesis put forward correctly describes the situation, one would expect to find a high negative relationship between these two variables. The coefficient of correlation of $-.81$ indicates that the theory was fairly sound.⁵ This coefficient indicates that Coolidge received a high vote in those counties in which Roosevelt was least popular and vice versa. Putting it in positive terms, we can say that Roosevelt ran best in those counties of Iowa where the combined vote of La Follette and Davis was the highest in 1924.⁶ The regression equation which ex-

⁵ For a discussion of the Pearsonian product moment coefficient of correlation, see M. Ezekiel, *Methods of Correlation Analysis*, New York, 1930, and for applications to analysis of voting behavior see Gosnell, *Machine Politics*, pp. 106, 210.

⁶ Let the Roosevelt percentage in 1932 be designated by the letter *e*. Let the Coolidge percentage in 1924 be designated by the letter *a*. Then $r_{ea} = -.81$. The regression equation showing the Roosevelt vote as a function of the Coolidge vote is as follows: $X_e = 96.2 - .66X_a$. $S_{e.a} = 3.75$.

presses the Roosevelt vote in 1932 as a function of the Coolidge percentage in 1924 may be interpreted as follows: since the relationship is inverse, the nearer that the value of the constant a is to 100 the closer is the relationship ($a=96.2$). If the relationship were a perfect one, a would be equal to 100 and constant b (the rate of change of X_c with reference to X_a) would be equal to -1 . The fact that b is less than -1 ($-.66$) indicates that the relationship is close, but far from perfect.

Are there more recent indexes of the traditional Democratic vote and the Progressive vote? It was decided to analyze the relationship between the 1932 Roosevelt vote, the 1928 Al Smith vote as a measure of the traditional Democratic vote, and the Brookhart 1932 primary vote as a measure of the Progressive influence. A cursory examination of the actual votes cast for Al Smith in 1928, and those cast for Brookhart in the Republican primary of 1932, and those received by Roosevelt in the election of 1932 indicates that a rough approximation of Roosevelt's actual vote may be obtained by simply adding the number of votes cast for Smith and Brookhart. However, the use of actual figures rather than the percentages presents certain problems. Scatter diagrams indicate that the more populous counties of Iowa present extreme cases. In other words, the distributions are skew and the assumptions in correlation analysis call for distributions which are approximately normal. The extreme cases tend to exaggerate the closeness of the relationships.⁷

Since the use of the actual figures produces a correlation which is to some extent spurious, it was decided to express the votes in percentage form. The next question to be decided concerned the selection of the bases. A number of experiments were made with different percentage bases which indicate clearly the importance of this question. It was first decided to select as the percentage base, the total vote in each of the elections concerned. This choice produced an equation of net regression with a rather high a constant,⁸ and with a rather low b -value for the Progressive vote. It was next decided to use the 1932 total presidential vote as a base for all three variables on the assumption that the 1932 vote gave a closer approximation

⁷ Let X_c = the actual number of votes received by Roosevelt in 1932 in hundreds
 X_p = the actual number of votes received by Al Smith in 1928
 X_q = the actual number of votes received by Brookhart in the Republican primary of 1932

Then
$$X_c = 3.1725 + 1.1584X_p + .8768X_q$$

$$S_{c.pq} = 8.4235$$

$$R_{c.pq} = .9835$$

⁸ Let X_c = the Roosevelt percentage of the total vote in 1932 ($\sigma_c = 6.37378$)
 X_p = the Al Smith percentage of the total vote in 1928
 X_q = the Brookhart percentage of the total Republican primary vote in 1932

Then
$$X_c = 34.0247 + .6369X_p + .0539X_q$$

$$S_{c.pq} = 3.8138$$

$$R_{c.pq} = .80$$

to the total electorate than any of the other elections. The equation produced by this combination did not improve the a constant although it did raise the parameter (the b constant) for the Progressive vote.⁹ Finally, it was decided to return to the 1928 base for the Al Smith vote but to leave the Brookhart base the 1932 presidential vote. This selection of bases proved to be the best of all the combinations.¹⁰ This equation has the lowest a constant and the highest parameters for the traditional Democratic vote and the Progressive vote. Likewise, it has the smallest standard error of estimate, which means that it is the closest approximation of any of the equations to the final Roosevelt percentage in 1932.¹¹ Furthermore, in comparing this equation with the preceding one by means of a scatter diagram of the computed results of each, it was found that the former equation, in which the total presidential vote was used as the base for the Smith factor as well as for the others, tended to overestimate the counties in which Roosevelt's support was low and to underestimate it in the counties in which his support was relatively high. Explanation for this is to be found in the difference of participation in the presidential elections of 1928 and 1932. Participation was relatively higher in 1928 than in 1932 for the strongest and the weakest Democratic counties.

Two plausible answers suggest themselves for this situation. First, in 1928 strong native-white Protestants of the southern area, traditionally very much Republican, came out in relatively greater numbers to ensure the defeat of a Catholic while the strong Catholic counties in the northern part of the state, traditionally very much Democratic, came out in fullest possible support of Smith. Second, in 1932 many of the Republicans of the southern part of the state, rather than vote for the depression-tainted Hoover or shift to the Democratic party, preferred not to vote at all, while in the northern part of the state, the zeal of the Catholics had somewhat subsided.

The study of the 1936 Roosevelt vote presented some new problems. In the state as a whole, Roosevelt's vote fell off in 1936 as compared with 1932, but in some counties Roosevelt's popularity increased in 1936. What were the influences which caused Roosevelt to win or lose favor in 1936 as compared with 1932? An examination of the county returns for 1936 showed

⁹ Let X_s = the Roosevelt percentage of the total vote in 1932

X_1 = the percentage that Al Smith's vote in 1928 was of the total vote in 1932

X_u = the percentage that Brookhart's vote in the primary of 1932 was of the total election vote in 1932

Then $X_s = 36.6738 + .5611X_1 + .1542X_u$

$S_{e,ts} = 4.6252$

$R_{e,ts} = .6880$

¹⁰ $X_s = 29.7729 + .7251X_1 + .1976X_u$

$S_{e,cu} = 3.5385$

$R_{e,cu} = .8317$

¹¹ For explanation of S (standard error of estimate) see Ezekiel, *op. cit.*

that Roosevelt increased his popularity in some of the more urbanized counties, and that he lost in certain of the rural counties which were inhabited largely by native whites of native parentage. It was decided to study the relationship between the 1936 Roosevelt percentage and his 1932 percentage, the wet percentage as ascertained by the repeal vote in 1932, the rural farm percentage as given in the 1930 census, the corn loss as shown by the percent the difference between the 1935 and 1936 corn production was of the total for the two years, and the percentage of native whites of native parentage as indicated in the 1930 census. The corn index was selected as a measure of the incidence of the drought and the AAA program upon the Iowa farmers. Some characteristics of the distributions of these variables are given in Table 1.

TABLE 2. CORRELATION MATRIX, IOWA ELECTIONS, 1924-1936

Candidate or Issue	Variable Symbols	Pres. Rep. 1924 <i>a</i>	Pres. Dem. 1928 <i>c</i>	Brookhart Republican Primary 1932 <i>u</i>	Pres. Dem. 1932 <i>e</i>	Pres. Dem. 1936 <i>f</i>	Shift 1932-1936 <i>l</i>	Rural Farm Pop. 1930 <i>m</i>	Repeal Vote 1933 <i>n</i>	Net Corn Loss 1935-1936 <i>v</i>	Native White 1930 <i>w</i>
President, Rep., 1924	<i>a</i>		-.78		-.81	-.56		-.19	-.46		
President, Dem., 1928	<i>c</i>			-.40	.77	.56		.10	.59		
Brookhart Rep. Prim., 1932	<i>u</i>				-.09						
President, Dem., 1932	<i>e</i>					.68		.30	.46	-.28	-.30
President, Dem., 1936	<i>f</i>						.35	-.02	.55	.10	-.62
Shift 1932-1936	<i>l</i>							-.41	.08	.49	-.26
Rural Farm Pop. 1930	<i>m</i>								-.28	-.15	-.03
Repeal Vote 1933	<i>n</i>									.25	-.62
Net Corn Loss, 1935-36	<i>v</i>										-.23
Native White of Native Parents, 1930	<i>w</i>										

A comparison of the zero-order coefficients of correlation for the 1932 and 1936 elections with these variables as given in Table 2 shows something about the changes of voting behavior. In the first place, it is interesting to note that the relationship between the two elections as shown by the Iowa counties is not as close as, for instance, the relationship between the two elections for selected units within the city of Chicago.¹² The coefficient ($r_{ie} = .68$) may be interpreted as meaning that the two votes in the ninety-nine counties have 47 percent of their variations ($r^2_{ie} = .47$) in common. A comparison between the other coefficients shows that, other things being equal, Roosevelt in 1936 held the wet vote ($r_{in} = .55$, $r_{en} = .46$), lost some of the rural farm vote ($r_{im} = -.02$, $r_{em} = .30$), lost most heavily in those areas where the corn losses were greatest ($r_{iv} = .10$, $r_{ev} = -.28$ —it must be remembered that all values of v are negative), and lost in those counties where the percentage of native whites was highest ($r_{iw} = -.62$, $r_{ew} = -.39$).

But other things were not equal. In other words, the interrelationships of these variables were such that the net relationships were concealed by the zero-order coefficients. The fourth order coefficients of partial correlation

¹² H. F. Gosnell, *Machine Politics*, p. 109. The coefficient, r , equalled .96.

give an idea of the relationship of each of the variables to the 1936 Roosevelt percentage when all other variables are held constant.¹³ Thus, the relationship between the two elections does not change much when the other variables are held constant ($r_{ie.wvnm} = +.67$) and the same can be said of the relationship between the 1936 Roosevelt percentage and the native white percentage ($r_{iw.envm} = -.55$), but importance of the net corn loss increases ($r_{iv.envm} = .30$) and the relationship with the wet vote is changed from a positive to an inverse one ($r_{in.envm} = -.19$) and the inverse relationship with the rural farm percentage is slightly accentuated ($r_{im.envm} = -.18$).

The relationship of the variables to the 1936 Roosevelt percentage may also be expressed in functional form using the standard technique of net regression.¹⁴ In this equation, the 1936 Roosevelt percentage (X_i) is the dependent variable and the other variables are the independent ones. The relatively high value for the parameter involving the 1932 Roosevelt percentage ($b_{ie.wvnm} = .73$) agrees with the coefficient of partial correlation and shows that the bulk of the voters did not change their affiliations as between the two elections. The remaining parameters describe the characteristics of the voters who did change. In other words, the greatest shifts away from Roosevelt between the two elections were in the counties where the voters were in number predominantly dry, native white, and farmers who had suffered considerable corn losses. Roosevelt held his ground or gained in 1936 in those counties where there were large percentages of wet, foreign-born, city dwellers, and farmers who suffered only small losses in corn production.

It was also decided to use the difference between the Roosevelt percentage in 1932 and 1936 as the independent variable. It was thought that such a variable might bring into sharper contrast the nature of the shifts in 1936. The equation justifies this hypothesis since a close examination of its parameters shows that they resemble quite closely the parameters for the preceding equation.¹⁵ In other words, the holding of the 1932 Roosevelt percentage constant was roughly equivalent to studying the shifts as between 1936 and 1932. For purposes of interpretation then, the preceding equation is sufficient. The β -values also give an indication of the importance

¹³ Ezekiel, *op. cit.*

¹⁴ Let X_i = Roosevelt's percentage of the total vote in 1936; X_n = the percentage in favor of repeal in 1933; X_m = the rural farm percentage in 1930; X_c = corn loss 1935-1936; X_w = the percentage native white of native parentage.

$$X_i = 37.0690 + .7307X_n - .0661X_m - .1163X_c + .0680X_w - .1921X_{nw}$$

$$S_{i.envm} = 3.3824$$

$$R_{i.envm} = .83$$

$$\beta_{ie.nvm} = .762694; \beta_{iw.enm} = -.382107; \beta_{im.enm} = -.271868; \beta_{iv.enm} = .234386; \beta_{in.enm} = -.172978$$

¹⁵ X_i = shift from 1932 to 1936 as expressed by the difference between the percentages

$$X_i = 27.4315 - .1330X_n - .1660X_m + .1003X_c - .1790X_w$$

$$S_{i.nvm} = 4.12$$

$$R_{i.nvm} = .56$$

$$\beta_{in.nvm} = -.476970; \beta_{iw.nvm} = -.437568; \beta_{im.nvm} = -.427522; \beta_{iv.nvm} = +.425027$$

of the different variables in the equation and in general they tend to correspond to the coefficients of partial correlation.¹⁶

The use of correlational techniques in the analysis of voting behavior promises to give some very fruitful results if significant hypotheses and relevant indexes can be devised. In the present study, it was shown that in a typical middlewestern farm state, the nature of the political turnover that took place during the dismal thirties conformed to a mold that was set in the prosperous twenties. Those voters who were dry, rural, native-whites, and traditionally Republican tended not to vote for the Democrat F. D. Roosevelt in 1932 and those of this group who voted for him in 1932 tended definitely to swing away from his progressive New Deal in 1936. In addition, it was also shown that a considerable proportion of the voters who shifted from one party to another during the depression did so in direct response to the way in which governmental policies affected their economic well-being.

16	Zero Order <i>r</i>	4th Order <i>r</i>	4th Order <i>r</i> ²
	<i>r</i> _{ie} = .6837	<i>r</i> _{ie, wnm} = .6736	.4537
	<i>r</i> _{iw} = -.6210	<i>r</i> _{iw, enm} = -.5499	.3024
	<i>r</i> _{ir} = .1035	<i>r</i> _{ir, enm} = .2976	.0886
	<i>r</i> _{in} = .5463	<i>r</i> _{in, wnm} = -.1854	.0344
	<i>r</i> _{im} = -.0172	<i>r</i> _{im, enm} = -.1761	.0310
			<u>.9101</u>
	<i>r</i> _{lm} = -.4084	<i>r</i> _{lm, wnm} = -.5219	.2724
	<i>r</i> _{lw} = .4894	<i>r</i> _{lw, mnm} = .4928	.2429
	<i>r</i> _{lr} = -.2615	<i>r</i> _{lr, mnm} = -.4213	.1775
	<i>r</i> _{ln} = .0768	<i>r</i> _{ln, mwm} = -.4009	.1607
			<u>.8535</u>

BEHAVIOR SYSTEMS AS A FIELD FOR RESEARCH

A. B. HOLLINGSHEAD

Indiana University

A LARGE part of the research basic to current sociological theory has been carried on during the last half-century. To be sure, throughout the ages valuable studies have been made occasionally, but never before has there been consistent and continued investigation oriented toward the discovery of the compendent principles of a science of society and culture. Research in sociology, since the World War, has been focused, in the main, on the following fields: (1) social institutions, such as the family and religion; (2) community study and human ecology; (3) social psychology; (4) the processes of culture change; and finally, (5) analysis of the pathological aspects of culture and society. Very few of these investigations have been centered on the many vocations in western civilization. This is an important omission for, as Park has observed, "every occupation becomes, or tends to become, the basis for a new society."¹ The thesis presented here is that the sociologist and anthropologist should include within the focus of their attention the behavior systems of definable functional groups. This approach entails as a point of departure the definition and characterization of behavior systems.

Persons in more or less continuous association evolve behavior traits and cultural mechanisms which are unique to the group and differ in some way from those of other groups and from the larger socio-cultural complex. That is, every continuing social group develops a variant culture and a body of social relations peculiar and common to its members. This complex on the overt side may be characterized by discernible behavior of the group members in relation to each other, and to those who do not belong; and on the covert side, by an ethos or ideology which includes mores, codes, and other rules, which take the form of sanctions binding upon the membership in their relations to each other and to the external social world.² Knowledge, techniques, attitudes, and behavior traits are all integrated into a more or less congruous system within which the participant members orient their lives and acquire status in the community and society. These constitute the criteria by which a specialized group is differentiated from other technical groups, and from the larger, incoherent "Great Society." Such a complex constitutes a behavior system.

The general characteristics of a specific behavior system include the following: (1) a group of specialists recognized by society, as well as by them-

¹ R. E. Park, in the Introduction to F. R. Donovan, *The Saleslady*, vii, Chicago, 1930.

² For realistic description of this process, as well as an analysis of a behavior system, see E. H. Sutherland, *The Professional Thief*, 3-26, Chicago, 1937.

selves, who possess an identifiable complex of common culture values, communication devices (argot or other symbols), techniques, and appropriate behavior patterns; (2) the acquisition by initiates of the body of esoteric knowledge and appropriate behavior patterns before the novices are accepted by the initiated; (3) appropriate sanctions applied by the membership to control members in their relations with one another and with the larger society, and to control nonmembers in their relations with members. When social relations are confined within the professional sphere, sanctions peculiar to the situation often apply,³ but when they do not, the sanctions applicable to all members of society are the guides to conduct.

The most ubiquitous behavior systems in our society are integrated around the vocational specialties which characterize and guarantee the ongoing of our technological civilization. This does not mean, however, that behavior systems are limited to vocational groups, for such racial and cultural minorities as the Negroes have a way of life, which might be viewed as a behavior system. Certainly one's vocation determines, in the main, his income, the type of home he lives in, his menu, his associates, and his leisure time activities.⁴ A culture complex and a system of social relations associated with it develop around the vocational specialties. This principle is demonstrated in the sociological volumes on specific occupations, such as waitresses in restaurants,⁵ salesgirls in department stores,⁶ public school teachers,⁷ thieves,⁸ hoboes,⁹ and taxi-dancers.¹⁰ These studies show that the possession of specialized knowledge and techniques combined with behavior peculiar to a vocational group sets its members off from those who belong to another specialized group. These are smaller societies organized within the larger society, related to it in many ways, yet often different in outlook, practices and values. Society, in this sense, may be viewed as a series of general reaction systems integrated around the universals and the basic institutions, and of specific reaction systems associated with the specialized functional groups who possess the esoteric knowledge and techniques necessary for the maintenance of society.

The person is related in many ways to both the general and the specific reactions systems. Generally, the adult specializes in a vocation and thereby identifies himself with a specific group around which his major activities are organized. At the same time, he participates in the general behavior pat-

³ *Ibid.*, various sections, but especially, 82-139.

⁴ See R. S. and H. M. Lynd, *Middletown*, 53-89, New York, 1929. Also, *Middletown in Transition*, 7-73, New York, 1937.

⁵ F. R. Donovan, *The Woman Who Waits*, Chicago, 1920.

⁶ F. R. Donovan, *The Saleslady*, Chicago, 1931.

⁷ F. R. Donovan, *The Schoolma'am*, New York, 1938.

⁸ E. H. Sutherland, *The Professional Thief*, Chicago, 1937.

⁹ Nels Anderson, *The Hobo*, Chicago, 1923.

¹⁰ Paul G. Cressey, *The Taxi-Dance Hall*, especially 31-108, Chicago, 1932.

terns associated with the universals, and incidentally, directly or indirectly, comes in contact with several specific behavior patterns connected with the specialties and the alternatives.¹¹ These general and specific behavior patterns entailed in the person's participation in culture control his behavior under almost all circumstances in relation to the common institutions, to particular persons, and to groups which come within the interactional horizon¹² of the person's activities in society. In this sense, there are two varieties of socio-cultural behavior systems: the general, correlated with the cultural universals; and the specific, associated with the specialties. Sumner recognized the existence of both varieties and suggested that the subject matter of sociology might be composed of knowledge derived from their study.¹³

Analysis of behavior systems should be concentrated on three problems: the definition of the system; its life history; and its relation to the larger society.

Definition means not only the discovery of the concatenation of techniques and traits associated with the system, but also the delimitation of the complex from other social systems, and from the larger society. To do this, a constant search for the characteristics peculiar to the system must be uppermost in the student's program; a search for the specific elements is implied here, which integrate the connected techniques, values, and behavior patterns of the person in his relations with the group, of other members with him, and their interactions with society, and vice versa. In the study of specific behavior systems, the sociologist should not be concerned with the technical aspects of a particular speciality *per se*, but he must take into consideration how these techniques are acquired and how they operate in conditioning the interactional pattern of the person in his relations to others within the group and those who belong to other systems. The analysis of society and culture within the frame of reference of behavior systems will reveal many types, ranging from the altruistic complex associated with social work to the predatory activities of the professional criminal, racketeer, prostitute, and corrupt politician. Within the gamut listed above, lie all the socially useful and necessary specialties connected with the day-to-day functioning of a community and society.

The second phase of the problem is oriented around the question as to how a system comes into existence, is maintained from generation to generation, and perhaps passes away. The conditions inherent in the general culture that give rise to new behavior systems, and the dissolution of long established ones are a vital part of the dynamics of culture. Behavior sys-

¹¹ For a discussion of these terms see Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man*, 272-274, New York, 1936.

¹² Edward Sapir, "The Emergence of the Concept of Personality in a Study of Culture," *J. of Soc. Psychol.*, 5: 408-415, 1934.

¹³ W. G. Sumner, *Folkways*, 34, 39, Boston, 1906.

tems probably evolve in a manner similar to other phases of culture, but the process needs to be studied carefully before theoretically valid statements can be formulated. Tentatively, it is safe to hypothesize that a specific system changes through the invention of new techniques, the discovery of new knowledge, the adoption and assimilation of traits evolved by other groups. Since social action patterns are passed from one generation to another, frequently with only superficial modifications, the transmission process is an integral part of a system's life history. Transmission is focused on the initiate who must shape his behavior according to values, codes, techniques, and group expectancies, if he is to be accepted as a member of the system, and therefore as a colleague. By conformity to the behavior system, the initiate acquires a status within the group and a position within the community. Transmission of the system from the initiated to the novice is a groupwise process participated in by all members of the specialty in association with the initiate. It is also aided by members of the larger society who accord to the initiate appropriate deference, and behave toward him in the socially prescribed ways. Just what these ways are needs to be studied. The transmission process has two actional phases, the one just mentioned, namely, from the group's viewpoint; the other, from the viewpoint of the person. How the novice assimilates, and becomes a part of the system is of crucial importance. Once the novitiate is over and the person is accepted by his associates as within the system, he is in a position to help in its maintenance and transmission, because the behavior of a person in a specific system is not unique to that person but is common to all who belong to the system and participate in it. It is assumed a person adjusted to the particular system which integrates his major social function is generally satisfied with his way of life and orients his activities toward achieving success as it is defined by the social values inherent in the system. This assumption brings to the fore a pertinent question: What value does the system have for the participant members; or, how does the system satisfy the person who follows it?

The third problem is the relation of the specific system, and the persons who function within it, to the larger society. As pointed out above, the concatenation of culture complex and correlated behavior patterns fuse in the thoughts and actions of the participants in a configuration, and thereby create and maintain a behavior system. Insofar as the group's culture is unique, it is differentiated, therefore, from the larger social organization attributed to society. Some relevant questions to be kept in mind then are: What is the role a given system plays in social organization or disorganization? how does it influence the development of personality? does it foster cooperative social relationships? Finally, what other elements and ideas are inherent in the system which will add to sociological knowledge of the relations between society and its component parts?

There are two objectives of research hypothecated in this paper. The first objective is a detailed study of specific systems directed toward *the formulation of general propositions indispensable to sociological theory about behavior systems*. It is assumed that such analysis will yield knowledge on the processes inherent in the complexes which organize and disorganize persons and groups, as well as on culture and society. The second objective is the discovery of *the relation of the behavior system to the person in his interactional group*. Incidentally, this variety of research is concerned with finding how the values of a functional group influence a member's conduct in relation to his fellows, to the larger society, as well as the reaction these cohesive group mores have on the mores common to society. The detailed relationships, techniques, values, and traits which circumscribe and compose specific behavior systems will have to be revealed by research. Once this knowledge has been accumulated, man may be able intelligently to control social processes associated with behavior systems in relation to general society.

The points outlined in the preceding paragraphs may be illustrated briefly by sketching some of the characteristics inherent in the behavior system of professional cooks.¹⁴ The personnel of the profession is drawn from various nationality groups and cultural enclaves, but they have been moulded into cooks by common experiences. The social function around which their activities are integrated is the preparation of food for the general public in hotels and restaurants. Both society and the members of the profession recognize the existence of the vocation and its importance. Cooks believe their profession is just as vital in the social scheme as law, medicine, teaching, or any other specialized activity. A common belief among them is the following: "If people would eat right, and food was cooked right, doctors would starve to death." There is also a feeling that a cook can go just as far in his profession as he desires: "The chef in the Drake hotel makes as much as the president of the United States." The possession of common knowledge, techniques, and values means that one cook can recognize another cook when they meet professionally; furthermore, each can readily determine what kind of a cook the other is. For instance, "You can't lie about where you have worked, and what you have done, because a chef in a first class place knows how things are done in other first class places."

Future cooks are selected from among the present dishwashers: "cooks start out by washing dishes." The more ambitious and intelligent dishwashers soon work into the menial jobs around the kitchen. They gradually learn how to do the different specialized jobs such as salads, desserts,

¹⁴ The information given here has been collected from professional cooks in a casual manner as a preliminary phase of a more intensive study. The statements of the cooks represent the ideologies of cooks rather than verified facts.

roasts, broiling, soups, and so on. Cooks, on the whole are very mobile for two reasons. First, "the way to learn to cook is to work only in first class places, and move as soon as you have learned all you can in one place." A successful chef specializes in many branches of cookery, and the way to learn the art of blending ingredients is to work with men noted in the profession for special dishes. To do this, the apprentice cook must travel to these men and learn from them. This may involve traveling to every important city in the nation, and possibly Europe, to gain this training. The second reason cooks move is the nature of the recreational season in the United States. Practically all hotels, no matter whether they are located in cities or resort areas, have a definite season. During the season, the demand for skilled help is great, but with the end of the season the hotel may close, or keep only a skeleton crew. For instance, Florida and California have winter seasons, New England and the Great Lakes region, summer seasons; Atlantic City and the Gulf Coast are again summer areas. The seasonal nature of employment forces cooks to migrate from one area to another; south in the winter, or to the cities, and north again in the summer. Not only are there peak loads during the year, but also during the day. The cook's daily activities are centered around preparing highly different groups of foods for the three meals. Since his work is concentrated into three rush hours, the ruling code in the kitchen and dining room is cooperation between dishwashers, bus boys, waiters, and cooks. Cooperation is necessary because meals have to be served in a hurry to hungry patrons. Any balking on the job, or failure to dovetail into the organization, means dismissal. "The cook who won't cooperate lasts only one day."

Leisure time activities are concentrated around drinking, gambling, dancing, and shows. Playing the races in the winter, and attending baseball games in the summer are their chief diversions. These activities are carried on in their common hangouts, third class hotels, taverns, and poolhalls. Every city has its "spots" where kitchen help congregate. Although drinking is prevalent among cooks, they are very seldom jailed because the police know them, and are almost friendly. "A cop will take a drunken cook home and put him to bed, and the next day the cook will feed the cop." Practically all cooks are men, and most of them are single. In their relations with women, they generally go out with waitresses, or visit prostitutes. When they marry and settle down the girl is usually an ex-waitress. Many cooks save money and open up a business of their own; this applies especially to Germans, Greeks, and Italians, but less generally to Americans. The behavior system peculiar to cooks needs to be studied systematically before any of the data sketched here can be organized into a body of correlated propositions. The purpose of giving this material has been to indicate the nature of the things the student may find when he goes to work.

Those who are already interested in the study of behavior systems are

aware of the wealth of available material. In every community, there are many specialized occupations, each a veritable mine. Urban communities are particularly useful for the type of analysis proposed here, because of the many differentiations which characterize the behavior of their inhabitants. What is particularly appealing about this form of research is the fact that sociologists in small colleges may study, without great expense, the types about them. The field for study is limited only by the number of identifiable variant cultures and correlated behavior systems. For instance, there are many action systems in the field of crime such as professional theft, gambling, racketeering, robbery, blackmail, political graft, corruption, and so on. Actors, professional writers, lumberjacks, waiters, policemen, undertakers, junkmen, sailors, railway specialists¹⁸ such as engineers, firemen, conductors, brakemen, telegraphers, and section workers, only to mention a few types, are all illustrations of the raw materials to which the student of society may profitably turn his hand.

Those in especially favorable areas, such as around Los Angeles, might well study the variant cultures and correlated behavior systems connected with the motion picture industry's personnel. Certainly this highly selected group has a way of life far different from the farmer, doctor, or stone mason. In the South, there are many sources of raw material such as the Negro doctor, lawyer, yard-boy, cotton farmer; equally as interesting to study would be the poor white sharecropper, or the aristocratic planter. Those in seacoast cities might study well-known types connected with the sea.

By way of summary we may point out that, until a considerable number of these action systems have been studied, the sociologist's knowledge of the reciprocal nature of culture, society, and the person perforce must remain vague and at best highly fragmentary. A science of society must be derived from a knowledge of society and the only way to gain such knowledge is to study the person in relation to other persons and groups as they function within the milieu of their specific participation in culture and society. Finally, the purpose of this paper is to call attention to the possibilities of behavior system analysis, and perhaps, stimulate research along the line indicated in the preceding paragraphs.

¹⁸ See W. F. Cottrell, "Of Time and the Railroader," *Amer. Sociol. Rev.* 4: 190-198, April 1939, for a description of the influence of time in the railroader's life organization.

EXTRA-CLASS ACTIVITIES AND STUDENT ATTITUDES

ERLAND NELSON

Newberry College, South Carolina

ARE STUDENTS who are engaged in campus religious activities more religious than their fellow students? Are fraternity men more conservative than their "nonfrat brethren"? Do sorority members show more favorable attitudes toward the type of college attended than athletes do? Are nonactivity students more conservative or more religious than students engaged in student activities?

The attempt to answer some of these questions is based on a study of 3760 students who are attending 14 denominational colleges and 4 state universities.¹ This study is confined to 6 major student activity groups: athletics, music, religious organizations, fraternities, sororities, and non-activity groups. The religious group includes students who are active in the campus Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., Mission societies, Life Service groups, and others. The nonactivity group comprises the relatively large number of students active in no major campus activity.

We shall consider the data from six attitude areas for which we have used as many scales. As a measure of conservatism-radicalism toward various social, political, economic, and moral issues, we have used the Lentz Opinionaire,² Form "K". Four of Thurstone's³ religious scales were used for measuring attitudes toward "Sunday Observance," Attitudes

¹ Because of the objections to the measurement of verbalized attitudes, special precautions were taken in this study. Cooperating institutions were assured that they would be identified in public reports only by code. Students were encouraged to indicate their attitudes frankly, with or without signing their names to the papers. Students were also assured that their expressions would in no way affect their standing at their college—their unscored papers were sent directly to the writer where all individual expressions are held strictly confidential.

The sample used in this study, 3760 students who gave nearly 736,000 responses, includes 2103 freshmen, 592 sophomores, 491 juniors and 572 seniors, 2 unclassified. Students from the state universities were drawn largely from Arts and Science colleges and from Teachers colleges. All departments are fairly well represented in the 14 denominational colleges.

Of the four state universities, three are located in the midwest and one in the south. The denominational institutions include six Lutheran colleges of which three are located in the midwest, two east of Chicago, and one in the south. Three institutions are affiliated with the Society of Friends—all in the midwest. One representative institution is included from each of the following church groups: Catholic, Methodist, Presbyterian, Seventh-Day Adventist, and United Brethren, all of which are west of the Mississippi.

It is planned to retest as many of the same students as possible during the spring of 1940.

For a fuller analysis of the procedure, see report cited in Footnote 5 and thesis in the department of educational psychology, University of Nebraska, "Attitudes of College and University Students," 1937.

² Theodore F. Lentz and colleagues, *Manual for C-R Opinionaire*, Character Research Institute, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo., 1935.

³ L. L. Thurstone and E. J. Chane, *The Measurement of Attitude*, Chicago, 1929.

Toward the Church," "Attitudes Toward God as a Reality" and "Attitudes Toward God—Influence on Conduct." Certain of the Thurstone scales have been revised so that in all cases, the high scores represent the more religious attitudes. Finally, we present mean scores representing attitudes toward the college or university now attended.⁴

Student Activity and Conservative-Radical Attitudes. The presence of a relationship between extra-class activities and student attitudes is rather clearly indicated by the data summarized in Table 1. In the conservative-radical area, in which attitudes toward 60 social, political, moral, and economic issues are considered, students in musical activities are most conservative. Fraternity men show the lowest mean score on the Lentz scale. Second only to the strongly conservative musicians are the non-

TABLE 1. EXTRA-CLASS ACTIVITIES AND CERTAIN STUDENT ATTITUDES

Activities	Number	Attitudes toward					
		C-R	Sunday Obs.	The Church	Reality of God	God-Conduct	College Attended
Religious	743	33.26	5.98	9.06	8.24	8.62	4.25
Musical	203	34.54	6.06	8.98	8.21	8.42	3.99
Sorority	552	32.83	5.58	8.78	7.92	8.26	4.02
Nonactivity	1493	33.93	5.75	8.75	7.78	7.91	3.71
Athletic	311	33.07	5.58	8.50	7.59	7.71	3.81
Fraternity	458	30.41	5.39	8.19	7.31	7.46	3.86

activity students. The religious and athletic groups are somewhat less conservative, followed by sorority women. Although the sorority group is next to the lowest group in conservatism, it is 2.42 scale points above the fraternities. The sex difference for the entire group of 3760 students⁵ is 1.86, P.E., .16, so the fraternity-sorority difference shown here is .56 greater than can be accounted for on the basis of sex alone. The probable errors of the differences on this continuum range from .16 to .51 hence, differences between the several activities of 2.00 or more may be considered significant. The difference between fraternity and musical groups is 4.09, slightly smaller than the freshman-senior difference for these same students, 5.27. Fraternity men show less conservatism than any other group by a statistically significant difference. The existence of a relation between activities and attitudes seems evident whether we consider the most conservative musical and nonactivity groups or the least conservative fraternity classification.

⁴ Erland Nelson, "Student Attitudes toward the College Now Attended," *School and Society*, 1938, 48: 443-444.

⁵ Erland Nelson, "Radicalism-Conservatism in Student Attitudes," *Psychol. Mono.*, 1938, 50: 1-32.

Activities and Religious Attitudes. The relation between activity and religious attitudes is even more pronounced. The third column of Table 1, Sunday Observance, indicates that the musicians are not only the most conservative group but also the most favorable toward Sunday observance. Perhaps the fact that the major musical activity at many of the denominational colleges is centered about choral work furnishes the explanation of the high religious score. Nonactivity students rank third in their attitudes toward Sunday observance while the least favorable attitudes are to be found among the sorority, athletic, and fraternal groups. The greatest probable errors of the differences in this area is .10, hence, differences of .40 may be considered significant. Athletes and fraternity men are significantly less favorable toward Sunday observance than the religious and musical activity groups. The existence of a relation between activity and religious attitudes may be inferred from the fact that the difference between the music and fraternity group, .67, is more than twice as great as the freshman-senior difference when these same students are not classified by extra-class activities.

When it comes to attitudes toward the church, the religious activity group is highest with a mean score of 9.06 on a zero to 11.0 Thurstone scale. Religious workers, musicians, and sorority members are most favorable toward the church while nonactivity students, athletes, and fraternity men are less so. The fraternity-religious group difference of .87 is statistically significant. When these same students are classified by year in college, the freshman-senior difference is only .27, P.E., .04. Thus, it is seen that the greatest activity difference is more than three times greater than the greatest difference found by comparing years in college. Concern has been expressed as to a possible freshman-senior "decline" in student attitudes toward religious values. These data indicate that classification by college activity reveals greater differences than the freshman-senior comparison, at least in denominational colleges.

In favorable attitudes toward the reality of God, the religious activity group is again highest with the other activities ranking in descending order as follows: music, sorority, nonactivity, athletes, fraternity. Exactly the same order prevails in the study of God as an Influence on Conduct. In this area, the difference between sorority women and fraternity men, .80, is almost twice as great as the difference which obtains between men and women for the entire group of 3760 students, namely, .47 P.E., .04.⁶ In other words, significant sex differences obtain in this area for the entire group of 3760 students, but these sex differences are increased when we consider only fraternity-sorority differences. The religious-fraternal differences in attitudes toward God as a reality, .93, is more than 4 times greater

⁶ See thesis cited in Footnote 1.

than the freshman-senior difference of .22, P.E., .04. The greatest activity difference in attitudes toward God as an influence on conduct is 3 times greater than the freshman-senior differences.

Activities and Attitudes Toward the College Attended. When we consider student attitudes toward the college now attended,⁷ we find the most favorable attitudes, not among the athletes, nor yet among the nonactivity students. It is to the religious group that we must turn for the strongest institutional approval (Table 1). The nonactivity group is least favorable. Here, the fraternity group reaches fourth place as contrasted with the lowest place in each of the other 5 attitude areas. Here again, we find extra-class activities indicating greater attitude differences than do 4 years of college. The differences between the religious and the nonactivity students on this issue is .54, nine times greater than the freshman-senior difference.

Summary. 1. A relationship between extra-class activity and student attitudes obtains in each one of the six areas studied. The sorority-fraternity differences cannot be accounted for on the basis of sex alone.

2. In the religious areas, activity differences are from 2 to 3 times greater than freshman-senior differences among these same students. In attitudes toward the college attended, activity differences are 9 times greater than those between freshmen and seniors.

3. In order of greatest to least conservatism, these activity groups rank: musical, nonactivity, religious, athletic, sorority, fraternity.

4. From greatest to least institutional approval, these activity groups rank: religious, sorority, musical, fraternity, athletic, nonactivity.

5. In three of the religious areas—the church, God as a Reality, God as an Influence on Conduct—the groups rank: religious, musical, sorority, nonactivity, athletic, fraternity.

6. Considering the six attitude measures together, the more conservative, the more religious and the more favorable student attitudes toward the institution attended are likely to be found in the following activity groups in descending order: religious, musical, sorority, nonactivity, athletic, fraternity.

⁷ See article cited in Footnote 5.

CLASS ANALYSIS: WHAT CLASS IS NOT

GEORGE SIMPSON

New York City

THE TERM *class* has assumed an importance in contemporary social theory in inverse proportion to its clarity as a scientific instrument for investigation of the phenomena with which it purports to deal. Every science advances by defining and sharpening its concepts and testing them with the external reality they attempt to describe, but the concept of class has not been rigorously defined and is not tested. There is such confusion in the term that it is impossible to use it for social investigation. This confusion has resulted in part from attempts to make the concept mean too much at once, and thus too little in the long run. It is made to mean too much because it is used to explain too many discrete and different things, and it is made to mean too little because, being used to refer to so many different things, it gives no clear explanation of any of them.

The scientific validity of social theory, like that of all theory, lies in its verifiability through empirical research. Systematization of social theory for pedagogical or other presentative purposes often leads to a worship of theory in itself. This is nowhere so evident as in the theory of "class." All sorts of definitions are given, theoretical analyses are drawn up,—and nobody employs them.

The lack of research in the field of class analysis is due, not to lack of interest or internal significance, but to the inadequacy of present theoretical foundations to set the stage for investigation. Empirical class analyses (historical and field research) are not made because the theoretical apparatus with which we are asked to work gives no clues to the recognition of pertinent data and, a fortiori, no means for handling data.¹

To clear the ground for testable concepts and categories, we must first consider some common theories which recently have been presented but never have been tested. They suffer from what may be called a sociologism which refines concepts and rarefies theory to the point where it recognizes no need for verification. The discovery of the shortcomings of such theories will aid us in formulating a theory and a concept capable of empirical use.

1. "*Class*" Is not "*Social*" Class. This confusion of the substantive with a qualification of itself is the fundamental error in all contemporary sociological theory concerning class. There is in society, it is argued, a reality which may be termed "social class." T. H. Marshall² distinguishes "social class" from "class," which latter he takes in the Marxian sense. Social

¹ This is the *scientific* reason for the lack of research; there is also a *practical, material* reason to be discussed later.

² T. H. Marshall, "Social Class," *The (British) Sociol. Rev.* January 1934.

class, he holds, is a mental phenomenon; class is material; the former is subjective, the latter objective. Social class refers to phenomena considered to be social ends; class, to phenomena considered as means; the former refers to consumption, the latter to production. "The Essence of Social Class," writes Marshall, "is the way a man is treated by his fellows (and, reciprocally, the way he treats them), not the qualities or the possessions which cause that treatment."

This idea of reciprocal treatment considers human behavior as its own excuse for being. We are asked to study interaction in itself without any hypothesis as to what underlies this interaction. Social Class represents to Marshall, hierarchical social stratification; the hierarchy requires social recognition and permanency in its accompanying groupings for the term to be applied to it. Why should we start with hierarchy? Is not hierarchy only a form of the very stratification whose roots we are attempting to unearth in class analysis? Marshall, instead of seeking to investigate the etiology of social class, regards social class as a subjective manifestation. Sociology would thus become a science dealing with subjective states of consciousness in human interaction and thus would become a substitute for psychological analysis. Social classes would be analyzed as entities subsistent without material foundations to explain them. "I have suggested," writes Marshall, "that the objectivity of class consists, not in the criteria that distinguish it, but in the social relations that it produces, and its subjectivity in the basic need for mutual conscious recognition" (p. 61). "It" produces social relations, we are told, but we are not told what "it" is. Hierarchical social stratification is surely not the producer of social relations for it is a phrase used to denote an organic set of social relations. In Marshall's usage, social relations would produce themselves out of themselves.

The subjective element in social relations is what meets our eye first in commonsense analysis, but is the last to be analyzable in scientific analysis. It is the most complicated aspect, not alone of the problem of classes, but of all sociological problems, and cannot be squarely faced and met until the simpler aspects of the problem have been faced and met. If we attempt to meet it head on, there may be a dazzling crash and a pyrotechnic demonstration but there will be only an accident to report, not a substantive.

Hans Speier holds with Marshall that "the specific characteristics of the relation between classes is hierarchy."³ Social stratification, to Speier, is "a trait of nonmaterial rather than of material culture." If there be a phenomenon which can be called nonmaterial culture, it is inconceivable how it exists without dependence upon something material.

If social classes exist as described by Marshall and Speier, then the only

³ Hans Speier, "Social Stratification in the Urban Community," *Amer. Sociol. Rev.*, April 1936.

way in which individuals could be said to be members of a class would be to inquire into whether they recognized themselves or were recognized by others as individuals who belong to that class. This would lead us to analyze the class relations of individuals in terms of what they, or others, *think* they are, and not what they are in actual objective social reality. Marshall's and Speier's concept for research offers nothing to look for except "feelings," "attitudes," "emotions," "states of consciousness." These internal states are not outside the problem, but they cannot be faced empirically until we know where their roots lie.

2. *A Class Is not a Conscious Aggregation.* Consciousness of class would imply that we had established a basis for class differentiation and we would be defining a class by a quality not yet conducive to empirical recognition. We must be able to lay the ground for recognizing class differentiation before we can investigate class consciousness. The idea of class sentiment as essential to analyses of class differentiation implies that individuals are not in a class unless they feel that they are.⁴ If this were so, the criteria for class differentiation as a scientific term capable of being used in research, would lie in the *feelings of class differentiation* and wherever those feelings did not occur, there would be no class differentiation. Hence, an unemployed laborer would not be class differentiated from a fully employed steel magnate unless the laborer (or magnate) consciously felt himself to be a member of a different class.

Class consciousness is a highly important element in class analysis, but it enters as an objective factor to be studied only after we are aware as to what we mean by class. The presence of classes in a society could not possibly be dependent upon class consciousness, because the degrees of consciousness of individuals vary even among those of identical relative modes of life and we would be forced to accept what men *think* they are as final indication of what they actually are. Propaganda concerning the equality of all individuals might lead individuals to accept themselves as equal to each other (even a cat may look at a king) whereas their material equality is nowhere evident.

3. *A Class Is not a Community.* The term "community" in sociology is correctly restricted to refer to a fundamental and primary grouping of individuals with homogeneous ends, sharing a relatively complete life together. The term "class" does not refer to a social reality of this sort because a community requires conscious participation of a community-member, sharing of a way of life, common interests. Class in itself is a category of objective, material position. What grows out of that position, either in terms of it, or as a revolt against it, or through conscious trans-

⁴ Cf. R. M. MacIver's statement: "But in our sense of the term, there is no social class without class sentiment." R. M. MacIver, *Society, A Textbook of Sociology*, 179 (footnote), New York, 1937.

valuation of it, we cannot investigate unless we are aware of what the position is objectively. Morris Ginsberg has described classes as "groups of individuals who, through common descent, similarity of occupation, wealth and education, have come to have a similar mode of life, a similar stock of ideas, feelings, attitudes, and forms of behavior and who, on any or all these grounds, meet one another on equal terms and regard themselves, although with varying degrees of explicitness, as belonging to one group."⁵ Such a descriptive definition of class raises more problems than it solves. It makes class denote (1) grouping of individuals; (2) in a community; (3) who are class conscious to some degree. Yet there is no way offered of distinguishing class characteristics in terms of the behavior from which class characteristics originate. If we do not isolate some characteristic and use it as a constant with which to study other variables, then we wander in a world of variables, and must correlate through philosophical speculation rather than scientific methodology.

Individuals may form a community on the basis of their class positions, but such a community can be understood only through thorough study of the ramifications into which class position led these individuals. If we were to accept with Marshall, Speier, and North,⁶ recognition of differentiation and hierarchical stratification as the basis for a class, we still would not know how, and as what, such class-community recognized itself. The attribute of consciousness as a scientific starting point for social research is a dead-end street; the investigator begins where he should be ending. Consciousness of class as the basic attribute of certain social situations results in reliance upon such indefinite and slippery interpretative instruments as empathy and *verstehen* as substitutes for empirical observation of objectively definable data. Consciousness is not outside the purview of sociology; it is the time and place for emphasizing it in scientific work that is at issue.

4. *A Class Is not an Association or Organized Group.* The essential characteristic of an "association" is organized grouping of individuals who are permitted membership through acceptance of a definite interest which is to be prosecuted. If a class were an association, then we should be able to point out organized groups which are based on the prosecution of class interests. Since we do not know what class interests are except in terms of class position, any definition of a class which held it to be an association would presuppose an understanding of the very thing it was supposed to define. It would follow that class position was part of the class (defined as an association), but we still would not know what class position is. We never can know unless we have an objective measure of class. If class denoted an association, then we would be able to point to associations in

⁵ Morris Ginsberg, "Class Consciousness," *Ency. Soc. Sciences*, vol. 3, New York, 1930.

⁶ Cecil C. North, *Social Differentiation*, Chapel Hill, 1926.

history and at the present day which represented the classes existent at the given time. It would be very difficult, if not impossible, to prove that such is the case.

The term "group" is sometimes used in defining a class; and though by it neither an association nor an organized group is meant, nevertheless there is grave danger attached to using it because of ambiguity and the possibility of misapplication. Thus Mombert⁷ suggests that the term class "must denote a group where the characteristics held in common are perfectly definite and already determined." Mombert, to be sure, in this connection means an heuristic group, an unorganized group, but the term tempts waywardness. Class must be so defined that it refers to the differentiation of population in terms of a fundamental material characteristic capable of objective determination and which can be used as a base, for studying the ramifications of this material characteristic throughout the range of human interaction.

Mombert is so concerned with adjusting the alternate theories of class that have been offered that he ends up in a confused and verbose eclecticism as follows:

That various theorists should have found the essential nature of class in such different attributes is to a great extent due to their having in mind different historical periods, for in the historical developments of classes essential changes have taken place in their nature. In tracing this historical evolution it will be necessary to premise a concept of class of the most general sort, to include all those situations where gradations of rank and relations of dependence occur, associated with differences of social position and variations in both outer and inner conditions of life so marked that we may speak of the group as having a common economic position.

A concept which means so much in definition means almost nothing in use. Class analysis would chase hither and yon in search of classes if Mombert's definition were employed for classificatory purposes.

5. "*Class*" Does not Betoken a Philosophy of History or a Theory of Social Evolution. Class analysis which, in its present stage, is a statement of methodology and a program of research in terms of concepts and hypotheses to be tested, does not imply that the philosophy of history and the theory of social evolution are worthless endeavors. Rather, it considers them as ancillary disciplines in the formulation of scientific theory to be tested. However, for research, it ignores their large-scale speculations in order to isolate a set of problems which ultimately may amplify and clarify these speculations but which initially must be investigated in their own right. Circumscription of the field of data is indispensable to the development of a science.

The philosophy of history and the theory of social evolution are not foreign to scientific class analysis; rather, they have been, and are, the

⁷ Paul Mombert, "Class," *Ency. Soc. Sciences*, vol. 3, New York, 1930.

initial theoretical stimuli for posing the problem of class. It was from the Marxian philosophy of history and theory of social evolution that the contemporary surpassing interest in class sprang. Unfortunately, this interest has not led to scientific investigation of these aspects of empirical social reality; it has led only to an intensification of the speculative, metaphysical problems involved and to certain politico-economic "causes" and "movements" based upon normative, subjective concepts of class. At present, class is a field for opposing interpretations of history in terms of stratification: theories of class struggle, of class appeasement, of class harmony, of class equality, of class culture, etc. Withal, we have not been in a position to stipulate exactly what it does mean in empirical reality. The Marxians have, to be sure, done some historical research into class problems, as in Lewis Corey's *The Decline of American Capitalism*, but these works have not clarified for us the social reality of class in man's total social behavior. They have limited the concept to economic relations in the system of modern capitalism and its historical antecedents. Class analysis, as a sociological problem, seeks to discover what men *are* and *are doing* in terms of their class position and other attributes growing out of class position in all the aspects of social life.

Marx's and Engels' own theory of classes and class struggle (and, of course, that of leading Marxists like Franz Mehring, Lenin, Bukharin, Plekhanoff, et al.) was descriptive because of their historical interests. This historical monopoly of the concept of class has led to library research of a descriptive character but not to field research of an empirical and explanatory character. As a consequence, we read much of the history of classes but know little of their contemporaneity. The development of sociology as a science is linked with its absorption in empirical field research, but field research in class has been almost entirely lacking. Field research is concerned with what men do, how they feel towards objective situations, what they plan to do, etc. The absence in the realm of class of a body of material gathered in the field and interpreted realistically is certainly not ascribable to any lack of resources or organizations for research. Perhaps it is the "touchy" character of the subject matter itself, and particularly, its bearing on economic issues that has rendered it suspect to those who control research funds, and the reluctance of researchers to handle such "inflammatory" material.

The upshot has been that the subject matter has become ever more touchy as we know less and less about it in comparison with its greater and greater scope in life; it tends to become more and more inflammatory since we do nothing about meeting the administrative, economic, and political problems it poses because we know so little concerning it. Fear of class alignments on one side and cheer for class struggles on the other, face a society which has little to offer in the way of knowledge of what is existent.

It is little wonder that the proponents of class struggle know more about the realities of class than those who deplore the theory of struggle; its proponents recognize the problem and its place in men's lives, while its deplorers hide from it and do not grant funds for its investigation. The sacredness of private property never appears to be such a foolish faith as when it operates to prevent scientific research into *how* "sacred" (and "profane") men feel it is, and *why* they have such feelings.

6. *Class Analysis Is not Revolutionary Theory.* The problem of classes in society and their significance in social change was first brought forcibly to public attention by revolutionary theorists, particularly the radical theorists of the French Revolution. It was from a study of the French Revolution, among other factors in his development, that Karl Marx was led to formulate his theory of the fundamental importance of classes in social change. With Friedrich Engels, who had studied the economic condition of the English working-class in 1844, and through development of the ideas of the continental socialists, Marx was led to formulate the striking sentence of *The Communist Manifesto*: "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class-struggles." To Marx, class betokened opposition and conflict by its very existence as a social institution.⁸

For research, a concept of class which demands conflict as its essential characteristic is not usable, for sociological research seeks to discover what class makes men do and starts with the hypothesis that what men are doing in terms of their class realities is not one kind of behavior (such as conflict) or another, but many different and often contradictory kinds in terms of the same class position held by them. Social research seeks to discover what *relations* men enter into because of their class, what tendencies towards class mixture or class concentration occur in *social life as it is lived*. Class opposition, class conflict, class struggle are not outside the purview of class analysis, to be sure. They are composite concepts which can be investigated only after the simple concept of class has been analyzed in a fashion empirically usable and tested in research. The conflicting alignment of classes as a universal historical phenomenon and as a fundamental premise of the driving force of social evolution in general, still does not tell us how classes function in social relations today. A general historico-economic analysis of classes in contemporary American life and their opposing interests still does not tell us how men in different classes are behaving in terms of their class position. It may be held that basic to strong labor unionism is class opposition economically founded; and yet without field research we know little of the sociology of class feeling, class consciousness, and the consistencies of classwise or nonclasswise behavior among labor unionists.

⁸ For a succinct statement of the position, see August Thalheimer, *Introduction to Dialectical Materialism* (tr. by G. Simpson and G. Weltner), 198-199, New York, 1936.

The concept of class that must be posited for use in research must be such that the multifarious actions of men can be appraised in terms of their reactions to their objectively determinable class position. Otherwise, the research begins in the midst of a maelstrom of unclear and inadequately understood social actions. The flights of fancy concerning the future of classes in society might be resolved into ascertainable tendencies if we knew actually what was going on in the hinterland of men's behavior in terms of class. What classes are objectively, and what men are doing in terms of them subjectively, are the two basic guide-lines in class analysis. To start with a subjective concept of class is to jump into a vicious circle.

While social life buzzes with activity, the sociologist of this type concerns himself with how men feel and the economist thrusts men's feelings aside as outside his picture. As a result, we assume that we know how men "feel" without reference to what they are "feeling" about, and we assume that we know what men are "feeling" about without knowing *how* they "feel" about it. Neither abstract economics of the money-symbol nor abstract sociology of the attitude-pattern can come to grips with the concrete behavior of men acting and living.

Criteria for a Definition of Class. This preliminary discussion sets the stage for an analysis of class, its elements, its internal distinctions, its ramifications in men's behavior and its place in historical change and contemporary social movements. Certain criteria for a scientifically usable definition (a research instrument) are latent in the preceding discussion. They are:

1. The concept of class must be objective; that is, it must refer to an empirical reality without subjective states being attached to it. This does not mean that men as they behave in empirical reality do not have subjective states as part of their behavior; it simply means that we cannot understand those subjective states except as they refer to something methodologically nonsubjective.
2. The concept must be capable of universal historical application; that is, it must not be applicable to only one or several societies, past or present, but to all societies. Thus, the criterion of objectivity must refer to a reality of a kind found wherever men live socially.
3. The concept of class has not an associational or communal reference; it does not refer to an organized grouping, but to a mass phenomenon. Its relational complications must be capable of study in terms of its original reference to an external and objective sphere of material life.
4. The concept of class must have denotative as well as connotative aspects; that is, it must denote a particular state of affairs objectively ascertainable as well as connoting attributes of the state of affairs it denotes. It must, in short, be capable of application to ramifications of the particular social fact which it analyzes as its fundamentum. It must

refer to an objective phenomenon and be capable of serving as an aid in explaining subjective phenomena arising out of it. It must be descriptive in its narrower (objective) sense, and explanatory in its wider (organizational and subjective) sense.

5. The concept of class must carry with it so little speculative baggage *ab initio*, that it may be exposed to the vicissitudes of what is happening in the field it seeks to investigate without the fear of its being altered either in essentials or in particulars as data accumulate subtly causing the investigator to deviate from his high calling of scientist. This criterion, it need hardly be said, holds for all scientific research, and not alone for the scientific analysis of class.

CHANGING ATTITUDES TOWARD VENEREAL DISEASES*

HARVEY J. LOCKE
Indiana University

THE LAST three or four decades have witnessed a striking change of attitudes toward venereal diseases. In the prewar period, if anyone had openly discussed venereal diseases, he would have been ostracized from respectable society. Today, venereal diseases are openly discussed in newspapers, journals, and within various organizations. This paper will analyze and interpret some of these changing attitudes.

A study of the literature reveals a slow cumulation of changes up to the War, a relatively great change at that time, a slowing down but continuing cumulation after the War, and on the foundation of these accumulated changes, an apparently great modification of public attitudes in the 1930 decade. This is shown more specifically by the number of articles on venereal diseases indexed in the *Reader's Guide* and the *International Index* between 1905 and October 1939. The average annual number of articles in the period 1905-16 was 6; 1917-19, 39; 1920-29, 16; 1930-35, 34; and then the spectacular increase from 1936 to October 1939 of 86. This same general pattern is revealed by the average annual news items on venereal diseases listed in the *New York Times Index*: prior to 1918, no items; 1918-19, 3; 1920-29, 1; 1930-35, 2; 1936 to October 1939, 57.¹ This suggests a rather natural division of these changing attitudes into Prewar, War, Postwar, and the 1930 Decade.

The Prewar Period. The general tendency in the prewar period was to place a moral stigma upon anything connected with venereal diseases. Popular prejudices included the views that a venereal disease was an automatic index of sin which merited divine punishment, that infected persons made up an obnoxious, immoral class, and that any discussion of venereal disease almost put one in the class with those who actually were infected. Collective attitudes were reflected in words and phrases like "such patients," "diseases of vice," "diseases of prostitutes," "that kind of work," and the fact that no reputable physician would allow his name to be associated with the treatment of infected persons.²

However, even in this early period, there was some modification of attitudes toward venereal diseases. The discovery of the organism of

* This paper is a phase of a more general study of venereal diseases which the author made for the Indiana Committee for the Study of Marriage Legislation. It has been published by the Indiana Department of Health under the title, "Social Aspects of Syphilis."

¹ A survey of items published in the *Indianapolis Star* between 1910 and 1938 gave this same general distribution.

² Prince A. Morrow, *Social Diseases and Marriage*, 34-35, New York, 1904.

syphilis (1905), the development of the Wassermann test (1907), and the perfection of methods of treating syphilis (1910), led to the development of a more widespread conception of venereal disease as a medical rather than a moral problem. Moralistic attitudes were also weakened by the public and private discussion of these diseases which was stimulated by the reading of such books as Ibsen's *Ghosts*, Lavina Dock's *Hygiene and Morality*, and William A. Pusey's *Syphilis as a Modern Problem*, and the publicity given to the studies of prostitution and the subsequent campaigns against red-light districts which were carried on by dozens of vice commissions.³

While it is impossible to measure the exact extent to which attitudes had changed by the time of the War, the evidence points to considerable change. One index of changing attitudes was the presentation of medical certification bills before the legislatures of several states and the passing of such laws in 1913 in Wisconsin, Oregon, and North Dakota.⁴

The War Period. The War gave a great impetus to attempted control of venereal diseases. Within a week after the entry of the United States into the War, a control program was outlined for the Army, Navy, and civilian population.⁵ In July, 1918, the United States Interdepartmental Social Hygiene Board was created for the purpose of centralizing the attack against venereal diseases. Pamphlets were distributed, placards were put in public places, lecturers, and moving pictures were made available. Universities and colleges, through funds from the federal government, gave prospective teachers instructions in the various aspects of venereal diseases.⁶ Many organizations passed resolutions endorsing the federal control program.⁷ Eighty-eight laws were enacted in thirty-five states for the protection of the public against these diseases,⁸ and medical certification for marriage was made a legal requirement in five additional states and affidavits signifying freedom from infection in five more states.⁹

These and similar activities were connected with the War in at least two ways. The crisis of the War broke down inhibitions and thereby accelerated the prewar trend of removing the topic of venereal diseases from the realm of taboos to the plane of something to be openly discussed and systematically controlled. The War was also a contributing factor in that the high rate of venereal disease in the draft army shocked public health and other

³ The two vice commissions which attracted the most attention were those of Chicago and New York. John D. Rockefeller was chairman of the New York investigation.

⁴ Frederick S. Hall, *Medical Certification for Marriage*, 8, New York, 1925. The controversy over these laws when they were before the legislatures and later, in connection with their administration, also tended to weaken moralistic attitudes.

⁵ *Rept. of the U. S. Interdepartmental Soc. Hyg. Board*, 10-11, Washington, D. C. 1921.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 84-123, 1920.

⁷ *Venereal Disease Handbook for Community Leaders*, U. S. Pub. Health Service, 61-63; 1924; *Social Hygiene Legislative Manual*, Amer. Soc. Hyg. Assn., 10, 1921.

⁸ *Rept. U. S. Interdepartmental Soc. Hyg. Board*, 5, 1921.

⁹ Frederick S. Hall, *op. cit.*, 8.

governmental officials into a more aggressive attack on these diseases.

Strong traditional inhibitions persisted side by side with the more open discussion and attempts at control. Dr. John H. Stokes, writing in 1919, spoke of "a certain silent veiled, but peculiarly intense and irrational hostility" of supposedly intelligent people on the question of venereal diseases.¹⁰ The late Senator Royal S. Copeland, who was Health Commissioner of New York during the War, wrote to the managing editor of every newspaper in New York suggesting a publicity campaign against venereal diseases and received a negative reply in every case.¹¹

The Postwar Period. It was to be expected that a decline of interest and a period of relative inactivity would follow the vigorous national attention to the problems of venereal diseases in the War period. In the first place, the postwar period had no such motivating force as the "Win the War" psychology to keep up the interest of the general public; and secondly, efforts at control reflected the attitudes of those in authority and had not taken root in the general population.¹²

Indices of this decline in interest and activity include the reduction in the number of journal articles and newspaper items, the frequent statements by writers of that time that the problem of venereal disease was ceasing to be a matter of national interest,¹³ the withdrawal in 1926 of all federal aid to states for venereal disease work,¹⁴ and the gradual reduction of state funds for these activities.¹⁵

However, more interest was manifested in the postwar period than in the prewar period. First, a much larger proportion of the general population looked at venereal diseases in an objective, nonmoralistic manner. Second, medical schools and practising physicians gave increased attention to venereal diseases. Third, with the failure of the program on a national scale, several voluntary groups developed programs of concentrated study and action. And fourth, a few groups continued to use the wartime techniques of propaganda and education.

The 1930 Decade. Aggressive interest in the control of venereal diseases revived about 1930 and has become increasingly widespread as the decade has progressed. This period 1930-39 can be divided into two subperiods,

¹⁰ John H. Stokes, *Today's World Problem in Disease Prevention*, 103, New York, 1919.

¹¹ *Investigation and Control of Venereal Diseases*, Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Com. on Com., U. S. Sen., 75th Cong., on S.B. 3290, Feb. 14-15, 1938, U. S. Printing Office, p. 15. Hereafter, this will be referred to as *Investigation and Control of Venereal Diseases, Hearings on S.B. 3290*.

¹² Thomas D. Eliot wrote an article in 1918 entitled "Possible Effects of War upon the Future of the Social Hygiene Movement," in which he predicted that if the social hygiene movement was built up by the war psychology, it would experience a reaction after the War. *Social Hygiene*, 4: 219-223.

¹³ *Rept. of the U. S. Interdepartmental Soc. Hyg. Board*, 5, 1921.

¹⁴ Thomas Parran, *Shadow on the Land: Syphilis*, 85, New York, 1937.

¹⁵ Between 1923 and 1933, Indiana gradually gave less and less financial support to its venereal disease program and in 1933 entirely withdrew its state funds. *Investigation and Control of Venereal Diseases, Hearings on S.B. 3290*, 182.

1930-36 and 1936-39, with the point of division being the appointment in 1936 of Dr. Thomas Parran as Surgeon General of the United States.

In the 1930-36 period, propaganda and educational activities, although uncoordinated, were increasingly engaged in by state boards of health, local social hygiene societies, the American Social Hygiene Association, several tuberculosis organizations, and other groups. Space devoted to venereal diseases in newspapers increased. In the four year period, July 1932 to July 1936, 251 newspapers distributed in 42 different states gave editorial attention to the problem of controlling venereal diseases.¹⁶ This attention of newspapers to venereal diseases shows that the public was becoming more interested in the discussion of venereal diseases and more willing to have them discussed openly.

In spite of this, the trend as revealed in newspapers was not very decided, for, in general, agencies of communication did not discuss venereal diseases in the 1930-36 period. Editors of newspapers and managers of other agencies of communication were reluctant to use their services for such discussion either because they were unaware of changing public attitudes or felt that the changes were insufficient to allow open discussion.¹⁷

This hesitancy of the press to discuss venereal diseases is illustrated by the statement made in 1938 by Mrs. Anna Moscovitz Kross, Judge of the Woman's Court in New York City:

It was less than 4 years ago when I called a conference of doctors, priests, ministers, and newspapermen to discuss the matter of giving publicity to these diseases. The newspapermen said frankly that they could not print the words "syphilis" and "gonorrhea." When Dr. Parran went on the air to talk about it he was cut off.¹⁸

Early in 1936, Dr. Thomas Parran, who for six years had been Health Commissioner of New York state, became Surgeon General of the United States Public Health Service. In July of that year, he began a publicity campaign against syphilis with an article in *Survey Graphic* entitled "The Next Great Plague to Go," which was condensed and reprinted in *Reader's Digest* under the title, "Why Don't We Stamp Out Syphilis?" In his long experience in public health work, Dr. Parran had found that control through governmental action depended upon a favorable public opinion and in 1936 he felt that the greatest single obstacle to the control of venereal diseases was the persistence of taboos against the discussion of these diseases. He felt that syphilis might virtually be stamped out if it were not for the widespread belief

that nice people don't talk about syphilis, and that nice people don't have syphilis, and that nice people shouldn't do anything about those who do have syphilis.¹⁹

¹⁶ Compiled from data prepared by Dr. William Snow. *ibid.*, 168-170.

¹⁷ An editorial in the *J. Amer. Med. Assn.* for April 1936, page 1390, three months before Dr. Parran's article in *Survey Graphic*, pointed to the reluctance of agencies of communication to use their facilities for propaganda and educational activities and also pointed to a change of viewpoint by some agencies.

¹⁸ *Investigation and Control of Venereal Diseases, Hearings, S.B. 3290*, 164-165.

¹⁹ *Survey Graphic*, July 1936.

He had been commanded by broadcasting companies to omit the word "syphilis" from talks on communicable diseases. He had been kept from showing the moving picture, "Damaged Lives," by the New York Board of Regents. On the basis of these and many other similar experiences, Dr. Parran felt that the first step in the control of syphilis was to change public attitudes. After becoming Surgeon General, he developed a vigorous, co-ordinated, national publicity campaign against the traditional attitudes.

Indices of Changed Attitudes. Polls of public opinion furnish one indication of changes in attitudes. The American Institute of Public Opinion from December, 1936, to May, 1938, took eight polls on the following points: federal cooperation in a control program, a premarital test for marriage, a compulsory blood test for expectant mothers, a free confidential blood test given by the family physician, and the payment of higher taxes for the purpose of fighting venereal diseases. The following table shows that favorable replies ranged from 69 to 92 percent, with the two lowest percentages being on matters of finances.

TABLE 1. POLLS OF PUBLIC OPINION ON VENEREAL DISEASES*

Summary of Various Surveys Made by the American Institute of Public Opinion under the Direction of George Gallup on "Syphilis and Gonorrhea and Their Control"

Questions	Percent Yes	Percent No
1. Would you be in favor of a Government Bureau to distribute information concerning venereal diseases? (December, 1936)	90	10
2. Should this bureau set up clinics for the treatment of venereal diseases? (December, 1936)	88	12
3. New Hampshire legislators have voted to require a test for venereal diseases for all persons seeking marriage licenses. Would you favor such a law in this state? (May, 1937)	92	8
4. Should Congress appropriate \$25,000,000 to help control venereal diseases? (May, 1937)	79	21
5. In strict confidence and at no expense to you, would you like to be given by your physician a blood test for syphilis? (August, 1937)	87	13
6. Would you favor a law requiring doctors to give every expectant mother a blood test for syphilis? (January, 1938)	88	12
7. Do you think Congress should appropriate money to aid states in fighting venereal disease? (May, 1938)	86	14
8. Would you be willing to pay higher taxes for this purpose? (May, 1938)	69	31

* Data from *The Pub. Opin. Quart.*, July 1938, 390; and *Investigation and Control of Venereal Diseases, Hearings on S.B. 3290*, 173.

A second index of the change in attitudes toward venereal diseases is secured by comparing the experiences of *The Ladies' Home Journal* in 1906 with its experiences in 1937 and 1938. In 1906, some editorials and articles on venereal diseases, which were printed in *The Journal*, were widely condemned and resulted in the cancelling of 75,000 subscriptions and some advertising accounts.²⁰ With some apprehension *The Journal* printed an article on venereal diseases in 1937. Mrs. Bruce Gould, co-editor of *The Journal*, reports that there was no criticism of it. In fact the response was so favorable that *The Journal* published a second article. It also placed full page advertisements in 18 metropolitan newspapers and one magazine, *The Saturday Evening Post*, using the topic of venereal diseases as a means of increasing subscriptions and advertising accounts.²¹

A third index of changing public attitudes is revealed by contrasting the attitudes of newspapers in the past with the present universal willingness of newspapers to publish news items on venereal diseases.²²

The Lag of Moral Attitudes. There continues to be a lag of moral attitudes in the sense that nonmoral attitudes toward venereal diseases have developed in the fields of medicine and law, while moral attitudes continue to characterize much of the behavior of the general public. This lag is illustrated by such facts as the following: (1) medically it is desirable to have venereal diseases reported to a central agency and at least 41 states have such laws,²³ but no state is able to enforce the reporting of venereal diseases, for a person having a venereal disease is ashamed of it and puts pressure on his physician not to report his case; (2) doctors are supposed to state the actual cause of death on death certificates but a confidential study revealed that out of 5200 death certificates filed by 365 physicians almost twice as many (97.5 percent) had died from syphilis where it was the primary cause of death as had been officially reported by the physicians,²⁴ which indicates that people feel it is a disgrace to die from a venereal

²⁰ Edward Bok, *The Americanization of Edward Bok*, 348, New York.

²¹ The following is part of *The Journal's* advertisement found in the January 22, 1938, issue of *The Saturday Evening Post*: "In the first nine months of last year an average of 173,792 more women bought *The Journal* than bought it in the same period of 1936. . . . More and more women are reading *The Journal's* pages with more and more interest because they talk to women as human beings, as important intelligent people. Confidence of women in *The Journal's* stories and articles, as well as in products advertised in its pages, is reflected in their . . . demand for your soap, your foods, your furnishing, your products . . . when they're advertised in *The Journal*." Data also from *Investigation and Control of Venereal Diseases, Hearings on S.B. 3290*, 157, and a personal letter from the editors.

²² Edward C. Kienle, Public Information Assistant of the Amer. Soc. Hyg. Assn. in a letter to the author gives this as the experience of that organization. It also was our experience during the months of our study.

²³ We have no information on seven states.

²⁴ Matthias Nicoll, Jr., and Marjorie T. Bellows, "Effect of a Confidential Inquiry on the Recorded Mortality from Syphilis and Alcoholism. A Survey in the Westchester County Health District," *Amer. J. Pub. Health*, 1934, vol. 24, 813 ff.

disease and that physicians respect this moral attitude of the relatives and friends of the deceased; (3) medically, it is considered undesirable to punish a person who contracts a disease but employees known to have a venereal disease are likely to be discharged,²⁵ and the United States government penalizes veterans and men in the army and navy who become syphilitic.²⁶

Interpretation. The following tentative generalizations apply to changing attitudes on venereal diseases and may apply to all changing attitudes.

1. Changes in any one field of culture, such as that of venereal diseases, are always interwoven with and influenced by changes in other parts of the culture. The theory is that the various parts of a culture are interrelated and that some parts are more intimately related than others. New attitudes and new objects which emerge in any one of these intimately related parts of the culture tend to modify attitudes and objects with which they are most intimately related. For instance, attitudes toward venereal diseases are intimately interwoven with sex and religious attitudes. Sex today, as compared with a generation ago, is an object to be looked at openly and discussed frankly. Consequently, sex attitudes and behavior are much less conventional than at an earlier time. Unconventional attitudes toward sex probably lead to a higher incidence of venereal diseases, but the breakdown of sex taboos have made possible a more open discussion of venereal diseases, which is an essential factor in a control program. In the field of religion, there has been a transition from a sacred to a natural or secular interpretation of events and this way of looking at things has spread into various fields of activity, one of which is venereal diseases. The habit of looking at things in a secular rather than a sacred way has undermined the inhibitions and taboos surrounding the discussion of venereal disease.

2. Circular interaction is generally involved in changes of attitudes. This means that changes in the attitudes of one person both reinforce and are reinforced by similar changes in the attitudes of others. This circular interaction is especially observable in the recent changes in attitudes toward venereal diseases. In the last few years, the force of taboos surrounding the discussion of venereal diseases has been broken and this has led to intensified discussion, with each person's tendency to discuss venereal diseases being reinforced by the discussion of venereal diseases by other persons. Moreover, the open discussion of a previously tabooed subject

²⁵ Dr. Anson Clark, *Investigation and Control of Venereal Diseases, Hearings on S.B. 3290*, 131.

²⁶ Veterans are prohibited from drawing sick benefits when a syphilitic infection is the cause of the sickness (*ibid.*, 117). When a soldier or sailor contracts a venereal disease either "in line of duty" or "due to his own willful misconduct," or "vicious habits," he loses pay in either case if disabled; but in the latter case, he suffers additional penalties in that time required for treatment is added to his enlistment period and he is not eligible for reenlistment. "In line of duty" is defined as contracting the disease in spite of registering at a prophylactic station following sex exposure, while "due to his own willful misconduct" is failure to take prophylactic treatments (Dr. Thomas Parran, *op. cit.*, 185-186).

has tended to attract the attention of the general public, and the number of those engaging in the discussion has been continually augmented.

3. The function of a crisis situation in the change of attitudes is to break the inhibiting force of taboos so that existing attitudes can be expressed more freely. With respect to venereal diseases, it was found that the crisis of the War temporarily removed the conspiracy of silence and allowed those in whom new attitudes toward venereal diseases had emerged to manifest these new attitudes in overt expression. Those who held venereal diseases to be a medical problem could behave toward venereal diseases in a medical way. Those who looked at venereal diseases as something which should be controlled by legislative enactment, could try to get legislatures to pass laws on the subject. With the passing of the crisis, the former inhibitions tended to return but their power had been weakened and it was easier after the crisis to disregard the inhibitions and taboos.

4. Changes in things which are defined by the mores as not to be talked about take place by the gradual emergence and accumulation of slightly novel attitude-object situations. The slow infiltration and cumulation of these novel ways of looking at old things establishes new elements in the cultural base which are reflected in people in the form of new but latent ways of behavior. When sufficient changes have occurred in the cultural base, people's latent ways of behavior are ready to be set off by relatively little stimulation. If the stimulation is supplied, a radical change takes place in people's overt behavior.

5. Propaganda is effective in breaking down taboos only when it is preceded by the development of changed attitudes which have weakened the taboos and which in a sense are pressing against the taboos. Put in another way: Propaganda tends to bring attitudes into overt expression if and when they are subjectively present in people, and if and when the circumscribing mores have been sufficiently weakened. Once the strength of the mores has been broken, relatively little stimulation through propaganda will bring latent attitudes into overt expression. Under such conditions public opinion may be swiftly and radically modified.

MALADJUSTMENT AND SOCIAL NEUROSIS

GEORGE DEVEREUX

Worcester (Mass.) State Hospital

IT IS AN interesting phenomenon that, concurrently with the increase of our insight into the somatic pathology of the so-called neuroses and psychoses, there has set in a reaction against the long neglect of social-cultural factors in the pathogenesis and symptomatology of these disorders. At the present time, this reaction has become overly conscious of social-cultural factors, and has possibly overstepped the limits of scientific discretion. This is perhaps well illustrated by the widespread confusion between neurosis and maladjustment. Psychiatrists as well as social scientists are both responsible for this confusion. Having realized that certain so-called neurotic, or even psychotic, phenomena are socially acceptable and sometimes even at a premium in various primitive societies, they have hastened to conclude—at least implicitly—that neurosis and maladjustment are interchangeable and coextensive terms. Once they abandoned the hope of ever formulating that elusive and perhaps nonexistent entity, Human Nature, and hence gave up hope of establishing any absolute norm for sanity, they began to substitute for it the concept of cultural normalcy on a nonstatistical, conceptual, cultural basis.

Although I am not aware that the point has ever been made quite so strongly, it might be said that, implicitly, at least, present-day psychiatry postulates that society is always "right" and the deviant individual is always "wrong." A few authors, such as Bain,¹ Burrow² and Frank³ have raised their voices against this misconception and stated that both social and individual neuroses exist and that society as well as the individual should on occasion be treated as a patient. This essay will present further proof of this thesis and will outline a constructive program for investigating psychopathic trends in culture and for a differential diagnosis of maladjustment and neurosis.

The theory that maladjustment and neurosis are more or less interchangeable terms reminds me of a native superstition among the *Há(rh)nde:a(ng)*, a Moi jungle-tribe of French Indo-China. It is the law that no man may laugh at the sight of animals being abused or made fun of. If, in a group of serious spectators, one person should laugh, the spirits will punish him. If, however, a person complies with this law and remains seri-

¹ Read Bain, "Our Schizoid Culture," *Sociol. and Soc. Res.* 19:2 66-276, 1935; "Psychoanalysis and Sociology," *Amer. Sociol. Rev.*, April 1936, 203-220.

² Trigant Burrow, "Our Mass Neurosis," *Psychol. Bul.* 23: 305-312, 1926. (Cf. also other papers by Burrow and Hans Syz.)

³ Lawrence K. Frank, "Society as the Patient," *Amer. J. Sociol.* 42: 335-344, 1936. (Cf. also other papers by Frank.)

ous, while his fellow spectators laugh at the animal, the spirits will punish him, although he has complied with their law, *because he stands alone*, unprotected by integration with a group. On the other hand, the group which laughs at the animal, defying the law, will go scot-free, because it presents a united front against the spirits who wish to enforce their commands.

This superstition is apparently shared by many psychotherapists. It would appear that in many cases psychotherapy is deemed to have been successful, when an individual neurosis has been converted into a social neurosis, when one set of individual misevaluations have yielded to another set of misevaluations equally false, but permitting satisfactory social adjustment because they are shared by the community.

This type of pseudo therapy is very ancient and forms the understructure of certain shamanistic cures in primitive culture. Opler⁴ informs us that an Apache shaman imposes a taboo (social misevaluation) on a patient afflicted with a tic (individual misevaluation). The acceptance of the taboo causes the tic to disappear. A socially unacceptable symptom has been converted into a socially acceptable one. It is, however, greatly to the primitive "therapist's" credit that, when the cure is completed, he removes the taboo. The Apache system described by Opler may well serve as a prototype of shamanistic cures in many other primitive cultures—and some not so primitive and not so careful about removing the imposed taboo.

Since it is impossible (because we cannot find human beings without a culture) to gain a clearcut knowledge of the nature of "Human Nature" not moulded by some culture, it might seem desirable to construct a method of evaluating reality which is similar in structure to reality and, hence, permits predictions. Indeed, the sole purpose of all science is to give us predictability. In individual life, too, predictability is necessary for orientation, because of the sense of security derived therefrom. The great physicist, James Clerk Maxwell, has pointed out that we can create mathematical physics only because the laws of numbers happen to parallel the laws of bodies. In other words, equations in physics are similar in structure to reality. Social scientists argue that social-cultural environments are just as truly reality as are inorganic bodies. Linton⁵ says custom permits us to predict the otherwise unpredictable future behavior of other persons.

While Linton's thesis is unassailable, the conclusions some social scientists draw from it are false. The social-cultural environment is already an evaluation (and often a misevaluation) of reality and a reaction to it. Hence, while I do not deny that the social-cultural environment may be held to have all the characters of reality, it is nevertheless a reality of a

⁴ Morris E. Opler, "Some Points of Comparison and Contrast Between the Treatment of Functional Disorders by Apache Shamans and Modern Psychiatric Practice," *Amer. J. Psychiatry*, 92: 1371-1387, 1939.

⁵ Ralph Linton, "Culture, Society and the Individual," *J. Abnor. and Soc. Psychol.*, 33: 425-436, 1938.

different order, and, it seems to me that it should be possible to evaluate this reality as dispassionately and scientifically as we have come to evaluate physical reality. In other words, when society is neurotic, we should approach it with the scientific attitude of a psychotherapist and not with the abject gullibility of the followers of some Harlem prophet.

It is because of our misvaluations of society and culture, that predictability in the field of social change has been so notoriously low. The fact that society and culture show many neurotic trends does not preclude the possibility of predictability with the help of scientific method. Physicists have managed to obtain predictability in such rebellious and chaotic segments of reality as those now covered by thermodynamics, statistical mechanics, and quantum mechanics. We shall have predictability in social dynamics as soon as we cease to consider society and culture as a sacred cow and treat it as a patient instead when the facts indicate social neurosis. In this sense, it would seem to be the duty of the therapist to free the patient of his personal neurosis, without converting it into the prevailing social neurosis. It hardly needs to be stressed that custom protects society against the individual in the same way that habit or symptom protects the individual against society. It might be argued that in this case we would cure the neurotic and cause him *ipso facto* to be maladjusted by becoming the kind of individual of whom La Rochefoucauld said: "*Il est bien fol de vouloir être sage tout seul.*" They would plausibly state that such a maladjusted individual could not resist the wear and tear involved in constant friction with society and would soon become a neurotic once more.

It seems to me that this argument is untenable. One might just as plausibly argue that a psychiatrist must become neurotic because of constant association with neurotics and psychotics. An individual freed of his personal as well as of his share in the social neurosis could achieve adjustment not by complying in blind faith with the demands of society and culture, but by manipulating and correctly evaluating the particular segment of reality known as the social-cultural environment, thus insuring both adjustment and an optimum survival. Such an adjustive manipulation of the social-cultural environment does not call either for hypocrisy nor for a constant "tongue in the cheek" existence. Conforming, as far as motor and vocal behavior are concerned, to the demands of a fanatic sect, while one is compelled to associate with it, would arouse as little anxiety and create as few conflicts as does the specialized motor behavior of swimming, which is necessary to obtain adjustment to an environment which is not man's natural habitat. There is a great deal of difference between enthusiastically giving the Nazi salute in Germany or the Communist salute in Russia, and performing the "same" (?) motions dispassionately so as not to be tried for treason. Photographically, the two kinds of Nazi or Communist salutes may seem "identical." As organismal evaluations they have hardly any-

thing in common. The difference would even be measurable in terms of pulsebeat, rate of respiration, internal secretions, etc. The first kind of Nazi or Communist salute would be symptomatic of an intense participation in the prevalent social neurosis (or psychosis), while the second would be a result of an objective evaluation of the situation, and a matter-of-fact motor behavior insuring survival under unusual and pathologic external conditions. In the same sense, one can battle a storm either by rational means, or else by charging each gesture with magical properties.

It may be objected that scientific method and meaningful evaluation are both the products of culture, and subject to the same changes as culture. It would seem, however, that scientific method, and our insight into the structure of reality have a rapid rate of change when compared to other segments of culture which trail behind scientific development. Hence, while it is impossible to emancipate ourselves altogether from participation in culture, we could use the most scientific and rapidly changing segments of culture, instead of the most archaic, as our method of evaluating reality. It is well known that certain phases of culture trail behind others in development. This phenomenon is known as Cultural Lag. I have shown elsewhere⁶ that the phases of culture which trail behind others play the role of the most archaic, irrational, and tyrannical parts of the super-ego in individual neuroses. But just as these parts of the super-ego can be eliminated, without impairing those parts of the super-ego which make for consistency in behavior and strivings, and are therefore useful for survival, so it is possible to utilize the scientific part of culture to help us evaluate and manipulate the rest of the social-cultural environment in a manner permitting both adjustment and survival. The greatest difficulty we meet in any attempt to free the individual from his social neurosis is the fact, pointed out by Burrow,⁷ that the therapist himself is also afflicted with the same social neurosis. Hence, he can not be blamed for taking many evaluations rooted in culture for self-evident and unassailable evaluations. Nothing produces quite so much bad science and unskilful living as taking for granted the so-called "self-evident." The history of the parallel postulate of Euclid is very much to the point in this connection, as a warning against everything that seems "self-evident."

The remedy for this apparently hopeless impasse is provided by cultural anthropology. The variety of cultures provides us with a natural laboratory. If we are not hypnotized into believing our own culture to be revealed truth, the differences between the American and Bushman, the French and Chinese, the Sioux and Polynesian, etc. evaluations of a given situation or

⁶ George Devereux, "Cultural Lag: A Social Neurosis and its Elimination," Lecture to Institute of General Semantics, Chicago, Oct. 1938.

⁷ Trigant Burrow, *Social Basis of Consciousness*, New York, 1927, and much of his more recent work.

segment of reality should convince us that no evaluations and no modes of behavior are self-evident. For instance, C. S. Forde⁸ has listed the social evaluation of, and interference with, a large number of elements of organic behavior among twenty-five tribes. This should enable us to realize that not even the evaluations of the most elementary modes of human behavior are untainted by the social neurosis. This insight should enable us to look upon every segment of reality anew and with an oversophisticated eye. Since we have no opportunity to examine reality with the "unprejudiced" eyes of a man without culture, we can compensate for this lack of naiveté and freshness of vision by examining it with the knowledge of every cultural misevaluation known to the anthropologist. In the absence of naiveté, oversophistication gives us the most pitilessly clear and culturally unbiased insight into the real "nature" of things.

It is a truism that the foreigner and his ways always seem queer, and sometimes even neurotic. Carried to its logical conclusion, this insight enables us to assume that, by looking upon our own culture with the eyes of other tribes, we shall find it as neurotic as we may have assumed theirs to be when we looked upon it with the eyes of our own cultural standards. We can, for our purposes, define neuroticism as a misevaluation of reality and as an expenditure of energy in manipulating it, which is neither the most fruitful, nor the one permitting an optimum survival in proportion to the energy expended. Nothing is more subject to the law of diminishing returns than neurotic attempts of dealing with reality.

Hence, any program of investigating the social neurosis of any human grouping or culture necessitates first and last the knowledge and insight of the psychiatrically informed anthropologist, able to inspect it from the viewpoint of other cultural evaluations and standards. We cannot really achieve an absolute diagnosis of any cultural neurosis, because we lack a clearcut definition of sanity valid not merely in terms of the latest findings of science, but valid for all times. However, by proceeding from a differential diagnosis of any culture under study, based upon comparisons with the neuroses of other cultures, we may, with the help of induction, infer the structure of its specific social neurosis. Once a number of these differential diagnoses have been made, a constructive program for the elimination of the social neurosis can be attempted. The initial work, that of diagnosing the structure of our social neurosis, is first and foremost the task of anthropologists conversant with psychiatric methods and theories.

Once this stage of insight has been reached, it should be comparatively easy to discover those features of society and of culture most likely to provide us with an explanation, in terms of social-cultural causation, of the neuroses and psychoses in individuals. This field of inquiry has, of

⁸ C. S. Forde, "Society, Culture, and the Human Organism," *J. Genl. Psychol.*, 20: 135-179 (1939).

late, received much attention in psychiatric, as well as anthropological and sociological circles. A bibliography of contributions along this line has been gathered by me and contains several hundred items.⁹ It is a most promising field of inquiry, but its ultimate success will depend largely upon an effective completion of the preliminary work done along the lines of the differential diagnosis of the social neurosis of various cultures, as exemplified in a sense by the works of Benedict.¹⁰ I have, however, attempted elsewhere¹¹ to point out the connection between the special structure and the specific rate of change of our society and the pathogenesis of schizophrenia, thus somewhat shifting around the natural order of inquiry. This procedure, as far as schizophrenia is concerned, seems justified, because of the very special distribution pattern of schizophrenia, which seems limited to higher civilizations and to cultures in the throes of a violently imposed or rapid acculturation processes.

Turning now to the problem of the differential diagnosis of maladjustment and neurosis, we must admit that in the individual, as a rule, maladjustment does bring about neurosis, and vice versa. Nevertheless, confusing the two terms, is a scientific fallacy likely to vitiate all inquiry. No one will deny that a person who, in the current sense of the word, is well adjusted in Nazi Germany is and *must be* a neurotic, because the Nazi social-cultural environment is an extremely clearcut example of a social neurosis, if not psychosis. To a lesser extent, and in a less obnoxious, if still appreciably neurotic form, anyone who is well adjusted in any human society shares in the neurosis of his society, although he may not present any additional neurotic symptoms of his own. This confusion has, however, given the word "neurotic" a very special meaning, even in professional circles, until, as Horney¹² has pointed out, to state that someone is a neurotic is another way of saying that one does not like that person, or that society does not approve of him. This is true especially of persons said to have a so-called "character-neurosis." Many so-called character-neurotics would be extremely well adjusted in other cultures, while those making the diagnosis would in turn be deemed to have a character-neurosis if transplanted into another culture. Whenever we make the diagnosis, character-neurosis, we simply mean that the person in question shares insufficiently in the specific social neurosis of his environment.

The confusion between maladjustment and neurosis is inspired by an attitude reminiscent of the dictum "*Vox populi, vox Dei.*" Hence, assuming that the psychotherapist simply shared in the prevalent social neurosis and

⁹ See also John Gillin, "The Study of Personality in Preliterate Societies" *Amer. Sociol. Rev.*, Oct. 1939, 681-702 for a list of some of the recent pertinent literature.

¹⁰ Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture*, New York, 1934.

¹¹ George Devereux, "A Sociological Theory of Schizophrenia." *Psychoanal. Rev.* July 1939, 26: 315-342.

¹² Karen Horney, *The Neurotic Personality of our Time*, New York, 1937.

had no neurotic characteristics of his own, all psychotherapy could be summed up in the sentence: "How to be more like me," as some psychiatric wag once said. This statement is more truth than poetry.

Diagnosis of neurosis, and especially of character-neurosis, have been applied to those who are merely mildly maladjusted as freely as accusations of crime, witchcraft, heresy, and immorality were formerly hurled at other nonneurotic social deviants. Scientists are prone to forget that in their times Giordano Bruno, Galileo Galilei, Louis Pasteur, and Sigmund Freud have been accused of unspeakable things, or of being "crackpots," although by now we have found out that their evaluations of reality were far more correct than the evaluations of their critical contemporaries, although the pseudo evaluations of the latter were culturally sanctioned standards. We have mentioned only the names of great luminaries of science. It is highly probable that innumerable average individuals of the kind every psychiatrist treats by the dozen have, in some way or other, with respect to a situation however insignificant, outpaced their times in their evaluations (including their unconscious evaluations) and have become "maladjusted" as a result. What appears to the culturally biased eye as an individual neurosis, in reality, may be simply a maladjustment resulting from a partial nonparticipation in the prevalent social neurosis. We should hesitate before we call a journeyman "neurotic" who merely cannot get along with his fellows.

Of course, the situation is somewhat more complicated. Galileo Galilei evaluated physical reality correctly (in terms of our present scientific system) and in a novel manner. On the other hand, he still participated sufficiently in the social neurosis of his times to manipulate his social-cultural environment far less dispassionately and efficiently than he manipulated the physical environment. The same is even more true of Giordano Bruno. They refused to recognize that the misevaluations dominant in culture and society were also a segment of reality, to be dealt with dispassionately and efficiently, thus insuring not merely adjustment and survival, but a wider and more rapid acceptance of their scientific work, without clashing with the Inquisition. They were still dominated by the societal misevaluations of their times in their dealing with society. As I have pointed out in the aforementioned paper on Cultural Lag, ethical evaluations, although more archaic than scientific evaluations, still tend to dominate the daily life of the scholar. In this sense, these "Martyrs of Science" were still neurotic. They were far too well "socialized"; they shared far too much in the social neurosis of their times. They could not use the, to them, most obnoxious characters of their contemporary culture for their own ends, in the way we have come to use snake venom, the toxins of microbes, etc., therapeutically. In the same sense as one might give the Nazi salute in Germany dispassionately, and to avoid being lynched, until such time as the progress of science has eliminated the Nazi neurosis, Galileo Galilei

might have gone through some protective motions of superficial compliance as coolly as he donned his fashionable but absurd academic costumes without questioning the final appropriateness of a doctor's robes.

Such protective manipulation of the social-cultural environment has nothing in common with hypocrisy. Hypocrisy entails a negativistic affect-charge and aggressions, eliciting neurotic guilt-feelings. The protective manipulation of the social-cultural environment simply entails a lucid evaluation and effective handling of any segment of reality, physical, organic, or social, for the purpose of eventually curing its ills. To some degree, all so-called "normal" people must behave in this manner.

Once more the insight of the anthropologist, who is conversant with scientific method as well as with psychiatry, will have to be drawn upon for doing the most significant part of the preliminary spadework toward creating a differential diagnosis of maladjustment and neurosis. Provided with these tools, and with this new insight, the psychotherapist will be able to rid himself of his own social neurosis sufficiently to rid his patient of both the latter's individual and social neurosis, while enabling the patient to consider adjustment to the pathological environment, riddled with culturally sanctioned misevaluations, with the same objectiveness he would find useful in adjusting himself to an unfavorable physical environment.

The merely maladjusted person referred to the therapist as a "neurotic" patient, often, in some respects, "knows better" than his culture does. "Knowing better" does not suffice, however, if this superior insight and these more significant evaluations are not used in a manner which insures a better survival. The task of the psychiatrist, when confronted with such a person, is to enable the patient to deal with his laggard and more psychopathic environment with the objective efficiency of a psychiatrist managing a group of inmates in an asylum.

I am fully aware of the difficulties involved in carrying out the program outlined in this paper. The most serious difficulty we are likely to meet is connected with the attempt to free both the therapist and the patient of their share in the cultural-social neurosis, substituting correct evaluations and effective manipulations for compliance charged with positive or negative affect. It is imperative, however, that therapy should cease to consist of substituting the social neurosis for the individual neurosis.

From the point of view of the patient and of his associates' temporary comfort, the present method may be a satisfactory makeshift. For the future of humanity, however, a mild social neurosis shared by all and immutably rooted in the destiny of a given group, is more dangerous than if a large proportion of the population is afflicted with some individual neurosis or psychosis. Society can always defend itself against a large number of unorganized neurotics, each afflicted with different symptoms, each evaluating reality differently, but who is to protect mankind and its future against the organized neurosis of society?

CURRENT ITEMS

American Sociological Society. It is the desire of the Executive Committee to have two sets of the Proceedings in the official records. One set is now complete and bound. A second set has been collected with the exception of volumes 2 and 3. The title of Volume 2 of the Proceedings is "Social Conflict." The topic of the Proceedings of Volume 3 is "The Family." The Society would appreciate receiving a copy of these volumes as a gift or would be willing to purchase them at a figure not much more than the original selling price. Please correspond concerning this matter with the secretary, H. A. Phelps.

The Thirty-fourth Annual Meeting will be held in the Hotel Benjamin Franklin, at Philadelphia, December 27-29 inclusive.

ANNOUNCEMENTS AND MEETINGS

The American Economic Association will hold its 52nd annual meeting at the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel, Philadelphia, December 27-29 inclusive, 1939. Jacob Viner, University of Chicago, is president and J. W. Bell, Northwestern, is secretary-treasurer.

The American Journal of Sociology. In view of the present movement to integrate the viewpoints, methods, and findings of cultural anthropology, psychology, psychiatry, and sociology, *The American Journal of Sociology* published in its November 1939 issue another of its symposiums. This issue is devoted to an appraisal of "The Influence of Sigmund Freud upon Psychological Science, Social Science, and Modern Thinking." The first paper in this important symposium is by the late Havelock Ellis, pioneer in the study of sex. Other papers by outstanding authorities in the psychological and social sciences are contributed by A. A. Brill, E. W. Burgess, Kenneth Burke, William Healy, Karen Horney, Smith Ely Jelliffe, A. L. Kroeber, Harold D. Lasswell, Fritz Wittels, and Gregory Zilboorg.

Non-subscribers may obtain copies, and subscribers may obtain extra copies, by communicating with the University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois.

The District of Columbia Chapter of the American Sociological Society began its fall program in September with a large and enthusiastic meeting under the leadership of its new president, Irene Taeuber, of the School of Public Affairs, Princeton University. The Chapter has a membership of one hundred, with about sixty actively participating in each dinner meeting. Kimball Young spoke on "Cultural Islands." Cal Dedrick, of the Census Bureau, addressed the October meeting.

The Service Bureau for Intercultural Education fosters understanding and appreciation among American ethnic and culture groups. It collects and publishes facts on all culture groups. Its research material formed the basis for the highly successful radio series, "Americans All—Immigrants All," which was broadcasted on Sundays in 1938-39 by the U. S. Office of Education in cooperation with the Columbia Broadcasting System. Permanent recordings as well as scripts of the broadcasts are available from the U. S. Department of the Interior, Office of Education, Washington, D.C.

Among its direct services are *Teachers' Manuals on Intercultural Education* at primary, elementary, and junior and senior high school levels; one hundred classroom units designed to be used in various high school departments, containing suggestions for class activities and assembly programs. Field service is available by special arrangement. Courses for teachers and community leaders have been conducted by the Service Bureau staff at Columbia University, New York University, Temple University, Boston University, the University of California, and for the Board of Education of the City of

New York. This coming year, courses will be given for the Board of Education of New York City and at New York University.

Send for publications list, prices, and full information to the Service Bureau for Intercultural Education, 300 Fourth Avenue, New York City. Stewart G. Cole is the Executive Director.

The Journal of Educational Sociology has published in its December 1939 issue most of the papers to be given in the Educational Sociology section sessions of the American Sociological Society meetings at Philadelphia, December 27-29, 1939. This has been done so that the meeting time can be devoted to discussion rather than to listening to papers. It is hoped that there may be considerable discussion of the proposal for a Society-sponsored first course text.

Those who are not subscribers may procure copies of this issue by writing to Francis J. Brown, the managing editor, New York University, Washington Square, New York.

The National Archives has recently issued in processed form the following Staff Information Circulars: (1) "Archival Training in Prussia," a translation of a lecture by the German archivist Albert Brackmann, which appeared in the *Archivalische Zeitschrift* in 1931; (2) "Report on a Scientific Mission to German, Austrian, and Swiss Archives," a translation of the official report of the Belgian archivist Joseph Cuvelier, which appeared in *Les Archives de l'État en Belgique* in 1914; (3) "Answers to Some Questions Most Frequently Asked About The National Archives"; (4) "Repair and Preservation in The National Archives," by Arthur E. Kimberly; and (5) "European Archival Practices in Arranging Records," by Theodore R. Schellenberg. The history and functions of The National Archives are discussed by Solon J. Buck in an article entitled "Das Nationalarchiv der Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika," which appeared in the *Archivalische Zeitschrift*, 45: 16-33 (1939).

Records from more than 30 diplomatic and 150 consular posts in Europe, Latin America, the Indian Ocean area, and various other parts of the world have been received in pursuance of a 4-year program, begun in 1938, under which the records of all such posts to August 15, 1912, are to be transferred to The National Archives. These records contain information supplementary to that appearing in the records of the State Department in Washington. Use of any of these records postdating August 14, 1906 is restricted. Other accessions recently received by The National Archives include papers filed in cases brought before the Court of Claims, 1855-1923; War Department accounting records, 1800-1925; organization strength returns of the American Expeditionary Forces, 1917-20; correspondence and related papers concerning the location, construction, maintenance, and repair of public buildings, 1837-1933; records of the Potomac Company and its successor, the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company, 1785-1900; some 17,000 maps constituting the bulk of the collection created and used by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1830-1937; documents concerning Spanish and Mexican land grants in California, 1780-1846, which were formerly in the Public Survey Office at Glendale, California; correspondence and other records of the Bureau of Chemistry and of the Food, Drug, and Insecticide Administration, 1907-29; correspondence of the Lighthouse Board and of its successor, the Bureau of Lighthouses, 1901-25; and records of the Merchant Fleet Corporation concerned chiefly with the operation of vessels, 1917-33.

Rear-Admiral Richard E. Byrd has presented to The National Archives about 380,000 feet of motion-picture film portraying rather fully his two Antarctic expeditions and less extensively his North Pole and trans-Atlantic flights.

The National Conference on Family Relations, organized last year, will hold its second annual meeting at Philadelphia, December 26-27, in connection with the meeting of the American Sociological Society. Adolph Meyer, the new president, is organizing the meeting, the central theme of which will be "The Functions of the Family in a Democracy." Special groups will meet to discuss the economic, educational, eugenic, legal, and family counselling aspect of the question.

The annual dues are two dollars which includes subscription to the official quarterly organ of the Conference, *Living*. E. W. Burgess, secretary-treasurer, may be addressed at 1126 East 59th Street, Chicago, Illinois.

The National Education Association sponsored the 1939 American Education Week, November 6-11, 1939. "Education for the American Way of Life" was the general theme. As in previous years, the National Education Association prepared material to assist schools in planning for this observance. These included colorful posters, leaflets, stickers, and packets containing special folders for the different school levels prepared by field committees in various sections of the United States. Those interested in this program may write to the National Education Association, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

Public Affairs Committee, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, has just issued *Jobs After Forty*, by Beulah Amidon. The five reasons usually given for discrimination against older workers are: less productive, more prone to accident, add to group insurance costs, weaken private pension plans, less adaptable on the job. These were all found to be unsound when scientifically examined. Employers are called upon to reexamine their hiring policies in the light of these findings which are based upon a U. S. Dept. of Labor investigation. This is the thirty-fifth in a series of 10-cent factual pamphlets prepared by the Public Affairs Committee.

The thirty-sixth, *Debts—Good or Bad?*, by Maxwell S. Stewart, is also just off the press. The conclusion is that "while sounder debt policies can help to forestall depressions and ease crises, they cannot alone bring recovery." Nine or ten recommendations are made for improving the debt structure of our economy.

All these pamphlets deal with live issues now before the American people. They can be obtained from the above address at 10 cents each and for considerably less in quantity.

The Twentieth Century Fund has issued *Does Distribution Cost Too Much?*, at \$3.50, on a strictly nonprofit basis. The Factual Findings, by Paul W. Stewart and J. Frederic Dewhurst, assisted by Louise Field, is the result of several years' research. The Recommendations, by a committee composed of Willard L. Thorp, Stuart Chase, Alvin Dodd, John P. Frey, Carl L. Hamilton, Helen Hall, Hector Lazo, Paul H. Nystrom, and Robert G. Stewart, were adopted unanimously. The book should be of considerable interest to those sociologists who are interested in social economics, social work, etc., and to all people who have to wrestle with the cost of living; but it is safe to say that those who might profit most from reading it will read it least. It may be purchased from the Fund, 330 West 42nd Street, New York.—R. B.

The William Alanson White Psychiatric Foundation and St. Elizabeth's Hospital gave the first annual William Alanson White Memorial Lectures in the auditorium, Interior Department, Washington, D.C., every Friday night from October 27 to November 24, 1939. This is to be an annual event, to which all interested persons are cordially invited.

The first lecturer was Harry Stack Sullivan whose general topic was "Modern Psychiatric Conceptions," which he discussed under the following titles: "Conceptions of Modern Psychiatry," "Organism and Environment," "Diagnostic and Prognostic Syndromes," "Explanatory and Therapeutic Conceptions," "Prospective Developments and Research." It is to be hoped that these lectures will be published. They should be interesting and valuable to sociologists and psychologists as well as to psychiatrists.—R. B.

NEWS FROM COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Members of the Society have responded in considerable number to the question raised about the usefulness of Current Items. So far, there is unanimous agreement that it should not be discontinued. This seems to put the responsibility directly on the membership to keep the editor informed about what is going on in their departments. The editor doesn't know anything except what he "reads in letters." Current Items will be just as good as the members make it.—R. B.

Bowling Green State University, Ohio. Charles J. Bushnell, of the University of Toledo, was the representative of the American Sociological Society at the inauguration of President Prout.

Cornell College, Iowa. J. H. Ennis represented the Society at the inauguration of President John Benjamin Magee.

Dillard University. Edward Jackson Baur is serving as instructor in social anthropology for the year 1939-1940 in the place of Allison Davis, who is on leave for the academic year.

Hunter College. Lee E. Deets, formerly head of the department of sociology and social work at the University of South Dakota, has been added to the staff.

Linfield College, McMinnville, Oregon. The D. Appleton-Century Company has published *Americans in the Making: The Natural History of Assimilation of Immigrants*, by W. C. Smith.

University of Louisville. The work in sociology and social work is now handled in separate departments, with Margaret K. Strong continuing as professor and director of the Graduate Division of Social Administration, and Robert I. Kutak as head of the sociology department.

Gardner F. Cook has been added to the faculty of the Graduate Division to handle courses in group work and child welfare. Lois Blakey will devote full-time to social administration.

Samuel C. Newman, secretary-treasurer of the Ohio Valley Sociological Society, formerly instructor at Ohio State University, had been added to the sociology faculty.

Louisville is one of the twenty-two universities participating in the Cooperative Study in General Education of the American Council on Education. The sociology department is cooperating in the social science aspects of the study.

University of Maryland. Carl S. Joslyn has been appointed professor and acting head of the department.

Logan Wilson has been called from Harvard to serve as associate professor. He taught sociology in the summer session at the University of Texas.

Clarence J. Wittler has resigned to accept an appointment as professor at Mundelein College, Chicago.

Robert N. Woodworth has been called from the University of North Carolina to serve as assistant in sociology.

William H. Form of the University of Rochester and Frederick R. McBrien of Dartmouth College have been appointed fellows in sociology.

The department has recently inaugurated a program of graduate instruction in sociology and is accepting candidates for higher degrees. This program will be expanded next year to include a full offering of courses leading to the Ph.D. degree.

The U. S. Department of Agriculture announces the publication of a social research report, *Social Relationships and Institutions in an Established Urban Community, South Holland, Illinois*, by Linden S. Dodson.

New York University. Francis J. Brown has been appointed managing editor of *The Journal of Educational Sociology*. He took charge with the September 1939 issue.

Oberlin College. Fred M. Zorbaugh has returned after a year's leave for study at New York University, where he completed his work for the Ph.D. degree.

Herbert Krass, whose undergraduate work was done at Beloit College, has been appointed assistant in the department.

N. L. Sims was the official delegate of the American Sociological Society and the American Academy of Political and Social Science to the Fourteenth International Sociological Congress at Bucharest, Romania. He also was scheduled to present a paper to the Congress. Because of the European crisis, the Congress will not be held this year.

T. Y. Crowell and Company announces the publication of *The Problem of Social Change*, by Newell L. Sims. The book is intended for textbook use in courses dealing with the general subject of social evolution.

University of Pennsylvania. The University of Pennsylvania Press announces the forthcoming publication of a volume entitled *Marriage and the Child*, by James H. S. Bossard, professor of sociology and director of the William T. Carter Foundation.

The Pennsylvania State College. Peter Pierre Klassen from the University of Chicago has been appointed instructor in sociology.

George E. Simpson, recently of Temple University, has been appointed associate professor of sociology.

University of São Paulo, Brazil. Donald Pierson, who has been in this country for the past year, engaged in research at Fisk University, has been appointed director of social research for the city of São Paulo. He also will hold a teaching position at the University. His address is a/c Consulado Americano, São Paulo, Brazil.

State Teachers College, Maryville, Missouri, has added to its staff Albert Blumenthal formerly of Marietta College, Marietta, Ohio.

University of Wisconsin. John L. Gillin, chairman of the department of sociology and anthropology, has been invited to read a paper on the organization of colonial penitentiary establishments before the Twelfth International Penal and Penitentiary Congress. This Congress will be held at Rome in the autumn of 1940. The Secretary-General of the Congress is E. Delaquis of Berne, Switzerland.

William White Howells has been added to the staff as assistant professor of physical anthropology and ethnology.

Paul R. Farnsworth, of Stanford University, is teaching social psychology for the year 1939-40 in place of Kimball Young who is on a year's leave of absence in order to complete a research project in Washington, D.C.

Helen I. Clarke is preparing a book on *Salient Aspects of Social Legislation* which will be off the press in the spring of 1940. Appleton-Century is the publisher. It deals with such subjects as marriage, divorce, sterilization, rights and duties of parents, adoption, illegitimacy, the old and the new poor law, etc.

Howard Cottam has received a research appointment at Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio.

Paul Glick, Wisconsin Ph.D. 1938, who taught last year at Bacone College, Bacone, Oklahoma, has been appointed to the staff of Fort Hays State College, Fort Hays, Kansas.

Morton King is this year teaching in the department of sociology at the University of Mississippi, University, Mississippi.

Virgil E. Long is a member of the faculty of the University of Chattanooga, Chattanooga, Tennessee.

Douglas Oberdorfer, who last year was on the research staff of the University of Texas at Austin, Texas, has been appointed to the teaching staff of Ohio University at Athens, Ohio.

Henry D. Sheldon, Jr., Wisconsin Ph.D. 1932, formerly of Stanford University, California and a member of the faculty of the 1939 summer session at the University of Wisconsin, will be at the University of Rochester at Rochester, New York the coming year.

Henry S. Shryock, Jr., Wisconsin Ph.D. 1937, who has been editorial and research assistant in the Office of Population Research at Princeton University has accepted a position with the United States Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C.

John Useem, Wisconsin Ph.D. 1939, has been appointed to the faculty of the University of South Dakota, Vermillion, South Dakota.

Arthur Wood is this year teaching in the department of sociology at the University of Buffalo, Buffalo, New York.

OBITUARY NOTICE

EUGENE THORSTEN STROMBERG (1909-1939)

Eugene Thorsten Stromberg died July 21, 1939, aged 30, after an illness of thirteen months. He was born at Keene, Nebraska, August 1909, and lived at Oakland, Nebraska, after he was three years old. He graduated from Nebraska Wesleyan University with a B.A. degree in 1931, where he was president of his class and was elected to Phi Kappa Phi and Phi Gamma Nu. Next year, he was on the staff of the Omaha Y.M.C.A. From 1932 to 1935, he was a graduate student at the University of Oregon, from which he received the degree of M.A. in 1935. During this time, he was secretary of the University Y.M.C.A. and for the last year was graduate assistant in sociology. He was appointed graduate assistant in the department of rural social organization, New York State College of Agriculture, Cornell University, in 1935 and received his Ph.D. degree from that institution, December 1937, with a thesis entitled "The Influence of Centralized Rural Schools on Community Organization. An abstract of this was published under the same title by the Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station as Bulletin 699 and has had considerable influence on the current discussion of redistricting rural schools. He was appointed professor of sociology at Huntington College, Montgomery, Alabama, in the fall of 1937, which position he held only one year, having contracted his fatal illness in the spring of 1938. At that time, he had received an appointment as assistant professor of sociology at the University of Oregon.

In 1936, he married Jean Ellen Tyler of Omaha, Nebraska, who survives him. Dr. Stromberg made many friends in the institutions with which he was connected, where he displayed active leadership among the student body. He was an earnest student of sociology. In his death, the profession has lost a man of promise.

DWIGHT SANDERSON

PORTRAIT OF HOWARD W. ODUM

A group of some 60 of Professor Howard W. Odum's former advanced graduate students at the University of North Carolina have had a portrait of him painted to be placed in Alumni Building. This building, which is being completely remodeled will now be used exclusively by departments and projects which Dr. Odum has initiated at the University: The Department of Sociology, The Division of Public Welfare and Social Work, *Social Forces*, and The Institute for Research in Social Science. The coincidence of acquiring more adequate quarters and of Dr. Odum's completing twenty years' service at the University makes particularly fitting the presentation of the portrait at this time.

The portrait, which has just been completed, was painted by the distinguished Polish-American artist, Stanislaw Rembski. Mr. Rembski has painted many prominent men and women in this country and Europe including Marshal Pilsudski for the Polish Government; Leon Dabo (portrait in the permanent collection of the National Academy); the aviator, Floyd Bennett; Professor Adelaide Nutting of Columbia University; Deems Taylor, composer and music critic.

The portrait of Dr. Odum has been pronounced by all who have seen it as an excellent likeness and a dynamic and forceful portrayal.

HARRIET L. HERRING

Chairman of the Portrait Committee

BOOK REVIEWS

BOOK REVIEW EDITORS

HOWARD BECKER AND KIMBALL YOUNG
University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin

- Chugerman: *Lester F. Ward, The American Aristotle*. Edward A. Ross; Elton F. Guthrie. 859
- Thorndike: *Your City*; Sinclair: *The Big City*; Green: *Holyoke, Massachusetts*; Wesley: *Owatonna, The Social Development of a Minnesota Community*; Holbrook: *Holy Old Mackinaw*. Howard Woolston. 863
- Beard and Beard: *America in Midpassage*; Barnes: *Society in Transition*; Odum: *American Social Problems*; Andrews and Marsden, eds.: *Tomorrow in the Making*. Jerry A. Neprash. 864
- Miner: *St. Denis: A French-Canadian Parish*; Gramm: *The Germans in New Brunswick*; Lončar: *The Slovenes: A Social History*; Federal Writers: *The Albanian Struggle in the Old World and New*; Koenig: *Immigrant Settlements in Connecticut*; Chenault: *The Puerto Rican Migrant in New York City*. W. C. Lehmann. 866
- Weld: *Brooklyn Village 1816-1834*; Bridenbaugh: *Cities in the Wilderness*. Calvin F. Schmid. 868
- Coulter, ed.: *The Other Half of New Orleans*. J. L. Gillin. 869
- Bolton: *Wider Horizons of American History*; Woestemeyer: *The Westward Movement*; Yoder: *Pioneer Social Adaptation in the Palouse Country of Eastern Washington, 1870-90*. James G. Leyburn. 870
- Zeller: *Pressure Politics in New York*. Hans Aufrecht. 871
- Harrison and Grant: *Youth in the Toils*; Melvin and Smith: *Rural Youth: Their Situation and Prospects*; Murray: *Youth's Problem Number One*. John C. Hutchinson, Jr. 872
- Faris: *An Ecological Study of Insanity in the City*. Read Bain. 873
- Lewin: *The Conceptual Representation and the Measurement of Psychological Forces*. George A. Lundberg. 874
- Horney: *New Ways in Psychoanalysis*; Kunkel: *Character, Growth, Education*; Lund: *Emotions*; Pollock, Malzberg, and Fuller: *Hereditary and Environmental Factors in the Causation of Manic-Depressive Psychoses and Dementia Praecox*; Witty and Skinner, eds.: *Mental Hygiene in Modern Education*; Richmond: *Personality: Its Development and Hygiene*; Mikesell: *Mental Hygiene*; Richmond: *An Introduction to Sex Education*; Ayau: *Social Psychology of Hunger and Sex*. Joseph K. Folsom. 876
- Buros, ed.: *Research and Statistical Methodology, Books and Reviews, 1933-1938*; Hosea, ed.: *Index of Research Projects, Vol. II*; Dunlap: *Workbook in Statistical Method with Special Reference to the Social Sciences*; Goulden: *Methods of Statistical Analysis*. George A. Lundberg. 879
- Parsons: *Pueblo Indian Religion*; Keesing: *The Menomini Indians of Wisconsin*; Garfield: *Tsimshian Clan and Society*; Park: *Shamanism in Western North America*; Junod: *Bantu Heritage*; Guillaume: *Prophecy and Divination Among the Hebrews and Other Semites*; Zwemer: *Studies in Popular Islam*. A. I. Hallowell. 881
- Kadushin: *Organic Thinking: A Study in Rabbinic Thought*. Israel J. Kazis. 883
- Shridharani: *War Without Violence*. Read Bain. 885
- Swift: *New Frontiers of Religion*; Hart: *Living Religion*; Hart: *Skeptic's Quest*; Black: *The Pendulum Swings Back*. Samuel C. Kincheloe. 887
- Link: *The Rediscovery of Man*; Williams: *Social Adjustment in Methodism*; Sanderson and Trott: *What Church People Think about Social and Economic Issues*; Johnson: *Christian Science: A Case Study of a Religion as a Form of Adjustment Behavior*; Leiffer: *Manual for the Study of the City Church*. Murray H. Leiffer. 889
- Pearl: *The Natural History of Population*; *Proceedings: Congrès international de la popula-*

- tion; *Volkszählung: Die Familien und Haushaltungen nach den Ergebnissen der Volks- und Berufszählung 1933*; Ziegler: *Die berufliche und soziale Gliederung der Bevölkerung in der Tschechoslowakei*. Henry S. Shryock, Jr. 890
- Siegel: *Population, Race, and Eugenics*. Frank H. Hankins. 892
- Decugis: *Le destin des races blanches*. J. J. Spengler. 893
- Mitchell and Mitchell: *Practical Problems in Economics*; Dell and Luthringer: *Population, Resources, and Trade*; Daugherty: *Labor Problems in American Industry*. Arthur Katona. 893
- Leiserson: *Right and Wrong in Labor Relations*; Pigors, McKenney, and Armstrong: *Social Problems in Labor Relations*; Baldwin and Randall: *Civil Liberties and Industrial Conflict*. H. A. Marquand. 894
- Woytinsky: *Labor in the United States*; Harris: *American Labor*. H. A. Marquand. . . . 896
- Cowan: *Sales Analysis from the Management Standpoint*. M. B. Davies. 898
- Gordon: *Economics for Consumers*; Waite and Cassady, Jr.: *The Consumer and the Economic Order*. Frank Harris. 899
- Thompson and Jones: *Economic Development of the United States*; Cronin: *Economics and Society*. Frank Harris. 899
- Kurtz, ed.: *Social Work Year Book, 1939*. Niles Carpenter 900
- Bing: *Social Work in Greater Cleveland*. Arthur Lewis Wood. 901
- L'Assistance Sociale en Roumanie*. Joseph S. Roucek. 901
- Shadid: *A Doctor for the People*. J. L. Gillin. 902
- Noble: *A History of American Education*; Mort and Cornell: *Adaptability of Public School Systems*; Stuerem: *Training in Democracy*. M. H. Willing. 903
- The Structure and Administration of Education in American Democracy*; Bruce: *The Principles of Democratic Education*; Rugg, ed.: *Democracy and the Curriculum*. Gerald Barnes. 904
- Wilson: *Education for Citizenship*; Krey: *A Regional Program for the Social Studies*; West, ed.: *Utilization of Community Resources in the Social Studies*. Herbert A. Bloch. . . 905
- Bond: *Negro Education in Alabama*. Charles S. Johnson. 907
- Elfving: *Societas Scientiarum Fennica, Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum*. A. C. M. Ahlén and George W. Hill. 907
- Dowd: *The Life of Braxton Craven*; Baker: *Fighting for Life*; Phelps: *Autobiography With Letters*. Everett V. Stonequist. 909
- Crabitès: *Unhappy Spain*. Hans Aufrecht. 910
- Mandelbaum: *The Problem of Historical Knowledge*; Weinreich: *Max Weber, L'Homme et le Savant*; Aron: *Essai sur la théorie de l'Histoire dans l'Allemagne Contemporaine*. Howard Becker. 911

UNSIGNED BOOK NOTES

- Holland: *Youth in European Labor Camps*. 913
- Ranulf: *Moral Indignation and Middle Class Psychology*. 913

Lester F. Ward, The American Aristotle. By SAMUEL CHUGERMAN. Durham: Duke University Press, 1939. Pp. xiii + 591. \$5.00.

I

This very handsome volume is a tribute to Ward worthy of his actual greatness and significance. I knew Ward very well—he was my wife's uncle—and with a whole heart I can testify that his was the greatest intellect I have ever closed with. In a Foreword, Harry Elmer Barnes justly points out that in Ward's "pioneer works on sociology, the importance of which cannot be overestimated, will be found the scientific roots of the present forward-looking social experiments, investigations, and reports which are the most notable steps thus far taken in the United States to promote government on the basis of precise knowledge."

Chugerman shows himself up to the requirements of his hardy undertaking. In the course of fifteen hours occupied with this book, not once did the thought rise in my mind, "Not quite up to this job." While bent on giving Ward's thought with utmost fidelity, at times he fairly coruscates. One gleans such apt characterizations as "poke some divining rod of heredity into his ancestral skeleton closets"; "good old American surnames . . . hang from almost every limb of the family tree"; "strained at the leash of his circumstances like a bloodhound kept from the trail"; "threads of incomprehensible speculations out of nothing into nowhere"; "lights rockets in the reader's mind and fires in his heart"; "often his thoughts are hand mirrors; sometimes they are gleaming scalpels"; "follower of some bandwagon"; "only children, savages, or fundamentalists dig into a watch to capture the fairy that makes it tick"; "Sociology, although the youngest of the sciences, is the head, in the same sense that the baby is the monarch in the home"; "For the practical person to deride theory is as childish as for the builder to fear engineering"; "As we turn the screw of the telescope of history, many of the blurs and paradoxes of the human drama disappear"; "The chemical elements . . . are the bricks of the universe"; "Treasure Hunts for a First Cause"; "riding with the ideal and the spiritual on the swift back of reality"; "ritual sclerosis"; "Ward is the last of the synthesists. After him come a deluge of social surveys, special reports, and statistical curves applied to various isolated parts of the structure, until the real purpose of sociology was all but lost in the mazes of speculation and standardization."

Needless to say, attention is not called to Ward's shortcomings. His minimizing of disparities in the intellectual endowment of individuals does not stand up, now that mental testing and the setting up of I.Q.'s have made evident individual mental differences.

To him education was *getting truth across*. Educationists feel there is much more they have to consider: (1) Since there isn't time to impart all the great bodies of knowledge, "What knowledge is of most worth?" (2) Moral education should not be left out of account; but what matter is fittest to stir moral emotion is not yet clear. (3) Nor are we in agreement as how to kindle aesthetic appreciation and emotion in the young.

His psychology is antiquated. He never noticed man's subconscious or anticipated Freud and Adler. For thirty years I have been using Adler's interpretive key, "compensation for sense of inferiority," almost every week!

In social theory I have not found Ward's distinction between *social statics* and *social dynamics* very helpful; all I see in the latter is *change* and the *change-producing factors*. Nor have I had much profit from his coinages such as "sociism," "politology," "politarchy," "pantarchy," "synergy," "gynaecocracy," "telics." But after making these deductions, I still feel that the neglect of him by the oncoming generation of sociologists is a huge mistake. Spencer and Ward were the greatest modern synthesizers. In the social field, Ward is probably the most successful generalizer that ever lived.

I predict sociology will lose ground in the colleges if social surveys and special studies, valuable as they are, are allowed to push aside the inspiring panorama of social evolution. After forty-six years of teaching sociology, I can testify that youth is swept off its feet by the big Wardian outlook. Let sociology shrivel to the purely observational and the philosophers, who offer wide horizons, will capture half our following!

I wonder if a quarter of the two thousand teachers of sociology in our colleges *know* synthesists like Spencer and Ward. I would urge all of them unacquainted with Ward's *Pure Sociology* and *Applied Sociology* to read Chugerman's book. If I had my way I would send to it every candidate for the doctor's degree in sociology, for its 558 pages pithily resumés about 5500 pages of Ward.

EDWARD A. ROSS

University of Wisconsin

II

The author of this work is impelled by the theme that the sociological contributions of Ward have been grossly neglected. Consequently, Ward's teachings are set forth as fundamental principles which bear vitally upon current-day problems. This emphasis places the book among others of recent years which have revived seemingly abandoned or neglected formulas in an effort to solve today's problems. Chugerman, in fact, makes a good case for the timeliness of Ward's system of thought. Countering the threats to democracy, he depicts the persistently democratic content of Ward's writings, showing how the latter's personality was conditioned by his humble pioneer background. In view of present tendencies toward irrationalism, Ward's intense belief in scientific method is upheld. Ward's strictly monistic stand is stressed and its implications against forms of philosophical idealism are pointed out. At the same time, the author contends that Ward was a supporter of "spiritual" values in the sense that he idealized "human achievement" and social progress. Along this line, it is noteworthy that Ward tended away from the Positivism current in his day. His insistence upon a definite causality avoided Comte's limiting of explanations to "correlations and sequences," and his view that an increasing understanding of nature is attainable denied Spencer's acquiescence to the "unknowable." Most important, from the standpoint of timeliness, is Ward's stress upon the supreme role of the intellectual forces and the necessary application of reason for the conscious, planned control of society. Chugerman holds that Ward's idea of planned government, or sociocracy, is, in fact, just today being partially realized in the form of some actions of recent American political administrations, most especially the New Deal. In this last respect, Ward's doctrine is shown to be diametrically opposed to interpretations, currently popular in some circles, which hold that history is not amenable to conscious, rational control but is fatalistically cyclical or fluctuational.

In view of these qualities, why was Ward's work neglected? Chugerman lists a number of reasons. Among them, he suggests that the passion for big

business dominated America in Ward's time to the exclusion of scholarly scientific interests. Also, the *laissez-faire* individualism of Spencer, especially as embodied in the work of his disciple, Sumner, received the lion's share of attention. The possible interconnection of these two factors within the pattern of American culture are, however, not made explicit by the author.

By way of criticism, it may be said that this work leans heavily in the direction of being a eulogy. It consequently lacks any fundamental, critical evaluation of Ward's system. For example, it is claimed that Ward's theory of mind was a century ahead of the time. The proof cited, however, could be just as appropriately used with reference to Holbach, Helvetius, and other eighteenth century materialists. There is no critical penetration in dealing with Ward's great panacea, education. One might want to know how much developments in this field have actually contributed toward Ward's projected social melioration, and if not, why not. Do Ward's utterances on education still bear, like most panaceas, the status of a magnificent ideal? Furthermore, no criticism is offered of Ward's assumption that psychological forces are responsible for the content of history. Ward's description of "human achievement" in terms of ideal knowledge needs to be evaluated on the background of the currently recognized importance of material invention and productive techniques. This emphasis by Ward places him, sociologically, back with the positivists from whom in other respects he was separate. Finally, the more cautious students of social theory will find this treatment of Ward to be a summary rather than an analysis. It is often difficult to know when the author is describing Ward's views and when he is offering his own inspired extensions of these views. Hence, to learn what Ward really said, one must still consult the original texts.

The author's own ideological position, revealed in scattered statements, deserves comment. He comes out decidedly against idealist and anti-rationalist philosophical viewpoints including intuitionism, pragmatism, and the reactionary doctrines of Spengler and Pareto. On the other hand, phrases appear which might be identified with sociological theories of the left. The somewhat frequent references to Marx, however, are introduced mainly to show Ward's disagreement with Marx or to compare Ward favorably with respect to Marx. Chugerman indicts sociology for its failure to develop a realistic logical foundation and for its sterility in practice. He seems, however, to express the same contradiction of thought and action found in Ward—that of the expounder of social wisdom remaining aloof from practical affairs. Incidentally, he gives as a reason for Ward's being neglected, the latter's "refraining from meddling in practical politics." This adds to the already academic tone of the work and portrays the social scientist as remaining in the position of an heroic oracle of wisdom sadly unheeded by the outside world. Chugerman's critical suggestions as to the ideological directions of sociology constitute the most refreshing and original aspect of his treatment.

ELTON F. GUTHRIE

University of Washington

Your City. By E. L. THORNDIKE. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1939. Pp. 204, 14 tables. \$2.00.

The Big City. By ROBERT SINCLAIR. New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, Inc., 1939. Pp. 419. \$3.00.

Holyoke, Massachusetts. By CONSTANCE M. GREEN. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1939. Pp. xiii+425. \$4.00.

Owatonna. The Social Development of a Minnesota Community. By EDGAR B. WESLEY. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1938. Pp. xvi+168. \$2.00.

Holy Old Mackinaw, A Natural History of the American Lumberjack. By STEWART H. HOLBROOK. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1939. Pp. ix+278. \$2.50.

Thorndike says, "This book is the result of three years' study of the recorded facts concerning 310 American cities. Its conclusions are outcomes of the treatment of nearly a million items by modern quantitative methods." Indices of *Goodness*, *Income*, and *Personnel* are built up, and their correlations are measured. The author finds wide differences between cities. He attributes .60 to mental and moral qualities of their populations, .25 to income, and .05 to government. The presence of Negroes, child workers, and church members are negative moments in *Goodness*; dentists, artists, and engineers raise the level. High incomes, rentals, and per capita expenditure for tobacco indicate prosperity. Unequal distribution of wealth seems to signify little. The author advocates "more good people," better education, and less political reform. The work shows the limitations of formal statistical technique.

The Big City was written to show Londoners what the town does to its people. The American editor implies that similar conditions and results appear in every great metropolis of the western world. As a result of many years' study, the author finds that he is "living in a dirty and dilapidated tenement, with a family many of whom are diseased, many more undisciplined, and still more misled. The greatest metropolis of the twentieth century is dirty, poor, unorganized, factious, ignorant, aimless, and leaderless. One in three of its wretched inhabitants dies in the poorhouse. Such is the measure of civilization offered to me by my ancient family, which bids me worship cobwebs because they are draped on escutcheons. I am ashamed." Sinclair literally takes the hide off the capital of Christendom and rubs salty statistics into its flesh. A foreigner wonders whether the English are sturdy or stupid to endure such treatment.

Mrs. Green has written a case history of the Industrial Revolution in America. The transformation of a farming community into a mill town, the development of water-power monopoly, and the rise and fall of absentee financial management are traced in detail. The social consequences of provincial mentality, immigrant labor, and lax administration are shown. "The city is situated in the heart of New England, yet has no New England traditions, no prominent original families, little stock of inherited wealth. . . . In the eighty-odd years of its civic career this community

offers an example of the changing modes of life and readjustments of thought forced upon America by the coming of the machine age." It is a drab story of narrow-minded thrift, exploitation, and social disintegration, typical of many company towns.

Owatonna is a city of 7600 in southern Minnesota. Wesley has traced its development and set forth its cultural achievements. He says it is not just another country town, but a progressive community characterized by cooperative enterprise, publicly owned utilities, and cultivated American citizenry. The author's purpose was to show the social background of an art education project. The work is an example of local history rather than sociology.

Holbrook tells a rip-snorting story of the logger, cutting his way through Maine and Michigan to the Pacific Coast. It is a wild tale of crashing forests, roaring streams, drunken brawls, and bunkhouse yarns. The life produced a breed of homo-gorillas, and left them to rot on the skidways. The author regrets the passing of these men of the woods with the coming of machinery and urban ways. The cost of their exploits and exploitation to the communities about them is covered with a loud guffaw. Have you ever seen an abandoned lumber town decaying among desolate logged-off hills? And the people . . . ? That part of the story is omitted.

Reading these five books together leaves the reviewer depressed. By their accounts, we have lost forests and fields, built factories and tenements, destroyed farmers and workmen, established hospitals and prisons, and hoped that God, the government, or public schools would pull us through. Few constructive suggestions are offered: "More good people," "a hardier race"—the rest is names, dates, and statistics. Perhaps some sociologist will write a book showing how to balance town and country life. When published, please send a copy to the undersigned.

HOWARD WOOLSTON

University of Washington

America in Midpassage. By CHARLES A. BEARD and MARY R. BEARD. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1939. Pp. 977. \$3.50.

Society in Transition. By HARRY ELMER BARNES. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1939. Pp. iv+999. \$3.75.

American Social Problems. By HOWARD W. ODUM. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1939. Pp. viii+550. \$3.00.

Tomorrow in the Making. Ed. by JOHN N. ANDREWS and CARL A. MARSDEN. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1939. Pp. xvi+471. \$3.00.

Each of these works is concerned with the contemporary American scene. They have in common the cardinal assumption that the basis of our society as it existed up until fairly recently has been swept away, and that we are now floundering about searching for a new basis upon which to erect the society of the future.

The Beards, in the work under consideration, have essayed the hazard-

ous and difficult task of writing the history of the United States during the fourth decade of the twentieth century. Though the work is comprehensive in scope, it is integrated about the interpretive principle associated with the name of the authors, that of the preponderant importance of economic interests in the motivation of human behavior. More specifically, the impact of the depression of the 'thirties upon all phases of social life and culture is delineated and stressed. As a consequence of the thesis of the authors, emphasis is placed upon the elements of change and instability in our social life and culture; and in treating of developments in such activities as literature, art, and recreation, those aspects are stressed wherein the immediate reaction to the economic situation is direct and apparent. The role of individuals and personalities in conditioning types of response to the economic situation is neglected almost entirely. In spite of these limitations, the work is indispensable to anyone who seeks to understand the changes and trends in our society during the past ten years, and deserves a place as a required reading in courses in contemporary problems.

Barnes' *Society in Transition* may not be ignored by any student of contemporary society. In comprehensiveness of scope and richness of content it is without a peer among problems texts. A virtual encyclopedia on contemporary social problems, it summarizes most of the recent contributions to the topics in the field. The style is direct, vigorous, and forthright. Its very comprehensiveness appears to lead at times to a tendency towards diffuseness, although the author seeks to bind his materials together with the familiar Ogburnian thesis that the source of all our social ills is the lag of adaptive institutions behind technological development—a thesis which is not always apparent in his discussion of certain of the problems. A careful re-editing of the material would have eliminated many of the repetitions (the statement that communism has made little headway among the Negroes is repeated four times within less than twenty pages) and some amazing contradictions. In a book so up to date as to include data from the spring of 1939, it is astounding to find a statement such as the following: "the army intelligence tests accurately revealed differences in innate mental capacity for individuals, if not for races." This statement is flatly in opposition to materials and opinions which the author cites elsewhere. In fact, in those of his discussions which are concerned with the importance of inborn individual capacities (such as the value of eugenics), he is not so much "on the fence" as on opposite sides of the fence at different times. Of unusual value is his discussion of crime in contemporary America, where he stresses the criminaloid character of many of our current economic motivations and activities, and his treatment of the pathological aspects of sex and of narcotic drugs.

Odum's *American Social Problems* constitutes more of a framework for the discussion of problems than a concrete consideration of specific problems themselves. The author attempts the almost insuperable task of presenting a complete description of American society within the compass of a relatively small volume. In doing this, and in striving for the vivid and dramatic, he often resorts to an impressionistic, almost telegraphic

style which sometimes verges on the incoherent. A study manual, comprising bibliographies and discussion questions on each of the chapters of the text, is to be found in the back of the book, and the work is illustrated with numerous photographs and statistical tables. Stress is laid upon the geographical basis of, and the consequent regional variations in, many of the problems of contemporary American society. Likewise of value is the emphasis placed upon the scientific approach to the solution of social problems. In content, this work parallels to a degree the report on *Recent Social Trends in the United States*, and could be used very nicely in conjunction with it in a problems course.

Tomorrow in the Making is a symposium in which the contributors present their varying diagnoses of the cause of the ailments of our sick society or the cures favored by the groups or movements which they represent. Since the work is aimed presumably at the "general reader," extreme points of view are sugar-coated to make them more acceptable. Thus, Norman Thomas stresses the point that Socialism is in favor of world peace; and Browder is deeply concerned with demonstrating that above all else, Communism is a staunch ally and defender of Democracy. The value of many of the essays in leading to clarified thinking on social movements and issues (the declared objective of the work) is open to serious question.

JERRY A. NEPRASH

Franklin and Marshall College

St. Denis: A French-Canadian Parish. By HORACE MINER, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939. Pp. xix+283. \$3.00.

The Germans in New Brunswick, New Jersey. By REVEREND CARL H. GRAMM. Cleveland: Central Publishing House, 1938. Pp. 105. \$2.50.

The Slovenes: A Social History. By DRAGOTIN LONČAR. Tr. by Anthony J. Klancar. Cleveland: American Jugoslav Printing and Publishing Co., 1939. Pp. vii+77. \$1.00.

The Albanian Struggle in the Old World and New. Federal Writers' Project. Sponsored by The Albanian Historical Society of Massachusetts. Boston: The Writer, Inc., 1939. Pp. viii+168. \$2.00.

Immigrant Settlements in Connecticut: Their Growth and Characteristics. By SAMUEL KOENIG. Federal Writers' Project. Hartford: Connecticut State Department of Education, 1938. Pp. viii+67.

The Puerto Rican Migrant in New York City. By LAWRENCE R. CHENAULT. New York: Columbia University Press, 1938. Pp. xii+190. \$2.25.

St. Denis is a case study in the more traditional variety of French-Canadian community life, done in an ethnographic frame of reference, but not without a well-informed sociological orientation. The reviewer ventures the prediction that it will become for French Canada what Redfield's *Tepoztlán* is for Indian Mexico. There are eleven chapters dealing with history, land and people, social organization, family, religion, the yearly round, etc. There is an appendix which consists of an age-sex distribution

table, a list of traditional cures and remedies, an autobiography of an *habitant*, and a parallel list of old and new culture traits. There is an adequate index, a bibliography for background study, and twelve well-selected photographic reproductions. The introduction is by Robert Redfield.

We have here first of all an ethnographic and sociographic study, an intimate, descriptive account of a parish on the south shore of the lower St. Lawrence, carefully selected to typify a larger cultural situation. While never boring with needless detail, the accounts of the daily domestic and farm routine, the yearly round of community life, a religious service, etc., are sufficiently detailed and vivid to make the subject alive and meaningful. The study is, however, also a study in rural familism, in the psychology of peasant life, in rural isolation and the preservation of the sacred, and in rural-urban contacts with resulting secularization and other manifestations of social change.

In such a study, we should expect an emphasis on the folk-character of society, on the permeating influence of the family in its relation to the land, and on the central role of the church in social control and in the preservation of tradition. We are less prepared to learn of the many changes in culture and social attitude coming over such an isolated community. These changes are due chiefly to rural-urban contacts, effected not so much by the out-reaching of the city as by the cityward reaching of the country for employment, for a market for agricultural surplus, and for a mechanization of agriculture to produce that surplus, all owing largely to exhaustion of the supply of land without reduction of the size of the family. The Church comes to take on an important role in guiding change that has become unavoidable and in integrating the new with the old culture pattern.

Gramm's book is a kind of historical-biographical directory to the subject indicated. Pains-taking in its fact-gathering it will be of interest to the local historian and antiquarian, but has little to interest the sociologist as such. It is apparently a by-product of a more extended study in local church history.

Lončar's essay, originally published in Slovenian in 1911, is a valuable outline history of the Slovenes, in broadly socio-economic and socio-political terms, by a competent historian. The treatment is scholarly, adequately documented, in the main thoroughly objective, and not without sociological insight. Phenomena of class, nationality and minority conflict, so abundant in this historical setting, while not neglected, do not receive adequate sociological appreciation. This study of a peasant people reminds us again how nearly alike are peasant ways and peasant problems the world around. It is, however, a history and not an ethnographic characterization.

The Albanian Struggle is a study of high merit in national minority status and the development of nationalism among Albanians, both in the home land and in the United States, particularly Massachusetts. One's first impression is that of a pigmy making a noise like a giant. The numbers involved are so relatively small. Nevertheless, Albania presents a unique experience in national self-preservation and national struggle, and this small group in America has played a role unique, in extent at least, in the

social, cultural and political development of the mother country in recent decades. This latter is in fact the most distinctive feature of the book. The sociology of nationalism and national minorities finds vivid exemplification in this study. The treatment is concrete with good illustrative material. This Federal Writers' study has obviously benefited by helpful contacts with members of the Harvard faculty.

Koenig's booklet reporting another Federal Writers' Project is a convenient summary, from U.S. Census and other sources, of the facts relating to the various immigrant elements in the Connecticut population. Its value lies in the localization of phenomena that in their broader aspects are common knowledge to every student of immigration. The treatment is brief and somewhat stereotyped. Two brief chapters on background and nativity history of the state's population are followed by a chapter characterizing seventeen national groups in the state, with a fourth attempting, in five-and-a-half pages, a characterization of immigrant institutions.

Chenault's monograph is a welcome contribution to our knowledge of one of the lesser and little known immigrant groups to the United States. Part I delineates the Puerto Rican background, its economic conditions and population pressure, and the migratory movement (almost exclusively to New York City). Part II treats of the economic and social adjustment of these peasants to the life of the metropolis. The treatment has the weakness of the usual doctoral dissertation. Somewhat immature and stereotyped, and not always convincing in the logic of interpretation and explanation, it yet presents the essential facts, most of which will scarcely be available elsewhere. A comparison of economic conditions, wages, housing, health, etc., in these two worlds seems to the reviewer of doubtful value, because despite forty years of American influence on the island the two systems of life are so vastly different. The author, with only partially convincing logic, predicts a great increase in Puerto Rican migration to the metropolis because of greatly increasing population pressure.

W. C. LEHMANN

Syracuse University

Brooklyn Village 1816-1834. By RALPH FOSTER WELD, with a foreword by Dixon Ryan Fox. New York: Columbia University Press, 1938. Pp. xix+362. \$3.50.

Cities in the Wilderness: The First Century of Urban Life in America, 1625-1742. By CARL BRIDENBAUGH. New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1938. Pp. xiv+500. \$5.00.

Both of these books are historical studies of early urban American life. Weld's monograph, as the title indicates, is a study of Brooklyn from 1816 to 1834. Bridenbaugh's *Cities in the Wilderness* is an account of Boston, Newport, New York, Philadelphia, and Charles Town between 1625 and 1742.

In Weld's study, an attempt is made to show how, in a relatively short space of time—from 1816 to 1834—there came to a village community,

having a simple and undiversified social organization, groups and individuals of varied backgrounds and interests; how these factors as well as many others influenced the institutional patterning of the community; and how the various institutions in the community developed in relation to a rapidly growing population. It is basically a study in social origins in which an analysis is made of the factors and processes which have determined the institutional organization of a modern American urban community. The Spencerian evolutionary concept of social development, characterized by growth from the simple to the complex and increasing differentiation of function, has served as the main theoretical framework of the study. The author traces in detail the evolution of government, the church, the school, the press, and other institutions.

Bridenbaugh's study describes life in colonial America from 1625 to 1725 as it developed under urban conditions. As was pointed out above, the communities selected for study were Boston, Newport, New York, Philadelphia, and Charles Town—the largest cities on the continent at the eve of the American Revolution. Bridenbaugh clearly shows that the urban mode of life did not begin with and was by no means solely the product of nineteenth century industrialism, but rather had its beginnings with the earliest settlement on American soil. Furthermore, he points out that after four decades of preoccupation with the significance of the frontier in early American life, historians are now beginning to realize that much that was characteristic of life in the colonies did not necessarily bear the stamp of frontier democracy and individualism. Many of the important political and social movements as well as most of the intellectual activity during the eighteenth century originated in the towns and not in the rural sections. The outline of the book is divided into three chronological periods suggestive of the course of historical change in town life: I, The Planting of the Village, 1625–1690; II, The Awakening of Civic Consciousness, 1690–1720; and III, The Towns Become Cities, 1720–1742. Under each of the three headings there is a discussion of the physical aspects, economic development, urban problems, and social life in the five towns.

Monographs such as these serve to emphasize the significance and value of intensive and penetrating studies of local communities to sociology and to the other social sciences. The sociologist who is interested in urban life and community organization will find these volumes worth reading. Both of these studies are thorough and scholarly. Of the two books, Bridenbaugh's is much more extensive in scope, more readable, and of greater general interest.

CALVIN F. SCHMID

University of Washington

The Other Half of New Orleans. Ed. by E. MERTON COULTER. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1939. Pp. 108. \$2.00.

This little book consists of a series of sketches published by the New Orleans *Picayune* during the years 1840 to 1842, with an introduction by Mr. Coulter, Professor of History at the University of Georgia. The

sketches were selected by Mr. Coulter, but were written, he thinks, by George W. Kendall, one of the editors of the *Picayune*. The sketches are descriptions of characters brought into the Recorder's Court in that city. To the sociologist they are interesting in that they picture the doings of the polyglot riff-raff of that city at a time when it was attracting to itself people from all over the world, some of whom behaved in a way which attracted the attention of the police. To the journalist it reveals the writing of an editor who did his own reporting, was blessed with a sense of humor, and saw the fantastic side of the behavior of the motley crowd of characters appearing in Judge Baldwin's court.

J. L. GILLIN

University of Wisconsin

Wider Horizons of American History. By HERBERT E. BOLTON. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1939. Pp. xvi+191. \$1.50.

The Westward Movement. A Book of Readings on our Changing Frontiers. By INA FAYE WOESTEMEYER with the editorial collaboration of J. MONTGOMERY GAMBRILL. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1939. Pp. xx+500. \$2.25.

Pioneer Social Adaptation in the Palouse Country of Eastern Washington, 1870-90. By FRED R. YODER. (Reprint from Research Studies of the State College of Washington, Vol. VI, No. 4, December, 1938, pp. 131-159.)

These diverse works have in common only the investigation of frontier adaptations by Americans, as seen respectively by historian, educator, and sociologist.

Bolton's publishers have collected four of his most important addresses, all brilliant and stimulating. Their main emphasis is upon the interpenetrations of the history of all American nations, with special attention directed to the part played by Spanish priests and missions as frontier institutions. Rejecting the approach which concentrates upon the growth and expansion of the separate American nationalities, Bolton insists rather upon the value of understanding the all-American background. If his lectures concentrate upon Spanish contributions to American history, this is a wholesome antidote to our narrow particularism.

Woestemeyer's readings are mostly in the language of the pioneers themselves, secondary sources having been used only where it was necessary to fill out the picture of frontier life. Her aim was to show the long-continued flow of population toward the frontiers, the influences which lured people there, and the cultural development of the pioneers. Explanatory notes introduce each section. The excellent readings are necessarily short: it would be difficult enough even to sketch the story of the westward movement in five hundred pages. Although this book is designed for high school students in history, many of the readings, particularly those dealing with cultural phenomena, are first-rate sociological data.

Yoder's original research is the result of his personal interviews with

fifty pioneers who came as children to eastern Washington. It is more than a fine piece of investigation: it is also a revelation of a neglected field of rural sociology.

JAMES G. LEYBURN

Yale University

Pressure Politics in New York. By BELLE ZELLER. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1937. Pp. ix+310. \$3.00.

In this work, much-needed light is thrown on a series of problems involved in the government of the Empire State, with significant results for socio-political studies in general. The greater part of the book (six of eight chapters, the introductory chapter not included) is given to a detailed examination of some political groups considered as pressure groups by virtue of their role in, and attitudes toward, legislative activity at Albany. The functions of these various groups are demonstrated with great clarity and set in relief against a background of underlying social and economic trends.

The descriptive illumination of group action follows a general scheme, in which a brief history of a special group organization is supplemented by data on the number of its members, the character of membership, the structure of the organization and its leading organs, its personnel representation in Albany, and finally an analysis of the specific pressure techniques of each group. First, those interest groups are dealt with in detail which are doubtless the most important ones from the political and economic point of view; viz., organized labor, business interests, and the phalanx of farmers. Of the labor group, the New York State Federation of Labor, the Women's Trade Union League of New York, and the Consumer's League of New York in particular are examined. Again, the business interests are shown to have their own group representation in the fields of real estate, banking, insurance, manufacturing, and public utilities. Adequate consideration is given to all the influential interest associations of those various branches. The description of the farmers' cooperative action in legislative matters is especially instructive as it proves clearly, besides its effect upon the legislative situation, an actual improvement of the farmers' economic status by their joint efforts. Further, three chapters (V-VIII) are devoted to general welfare dynamics, the professions (under the headings Education, Medicine, Law), and to "other groups" such as the civil service, the veterans, women's and civic groups, and dry forces.

Through the clear outline of the book and the close contact with reality maintained throughout, an original and fruitful approach to the structural analysis of Empire State politics is provided. In addition to the exact description of the social and economic background of the several groups, the influence of the various associations on the legislators and the legislative process is properly emphasized.

Thus Miss Zeller presents the State constitution in its living and working aspects with reference to the pressure groups' role in the motion, alteration, and defeat of bills. Asserting the representative character of the various

units, the author draws the conclusion that the pressure groups should be considered as definite types of "functional or occupational representation." As far as the traditional party structure is concerned, pressure groups sometimes work along party lines, sometimes against them. Since they also represent divergent interests, it is held to be the function of the legislative and executive branches of the government to reconcile any possible clash between them and to watch over their balancing with a view to the preservation of "the general welfare."

It is admitted, though, that pressure-group activity cannot always be considered as "pure" representation of occupational interests, and the frequently unethical practices of the lobbyists are not overlooked. Therefore Miss Zeller thinks it desirable to control such lobbying practices by law. Since, however, the New York State lobbying law of 1906 has proved to be a rather inadequate instrument for that purpose, she advocates the passage of a new law that might be more satisfactory. Accordingly the draft of a bill is proposed for this purpose (p. 260), its most important suggestion being the establishment of a responsible agency for the enforcement of the lobbying law.

The manuscript of the book had been terminated in February, 1937, so that some important amendments to the State constitution, proposed in 1937, and in force since January 1, 1938, could not be referred to. There appears to be a serious lag, moreover, in that the enumeration of pressure groups is no longer complete without a thorough analysis of the activities of the C.I.O. While such changes in law and in fact would require a reconsideration and adaption of the author's statements, the great value of this study in political dynamics and the functioning of State government remains.

HANS AUFRICHT

New York University

Youth in the Toils. By LEONARD V. HARRISON and PRYOR McNEILL GRANT. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1938. Pp. xi+167. \$1.50.

Rural Youth: Their Situation and Prospects. By BRUCE L. MELVIN and ELNA N. SMITH. Research Monograph XV, Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration. Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1938. Pp. xx+167. Free on request.

Youth's Problem Number One. By ALFRED L. MURRAY. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan Publishing House, 1938. Pp. xii+206. \$1.35.

Youth in the Toils deals with "the purposes of the criminal law and its procedures as they affect minors between the ages of 16 and 21" against the background of "the transition from a system primarily punitive to one primarily reformatory." Sponsored by the Delinquency Committee of the Boys' Bureau of two of the leading welfare agencies in New York City, the book consists of case illustrations of the raw material of delinquency, some statistics on youth and crime, a chronological account of the experi-

ences of boys between 16 and 21 from arrest through the serving of a prison term, and a chapter on the constructive reform of the "old mills." The book is simply and clearly written, progressive in spirit, and direct in its appeal. It represents the literature of reform at its best.

Rural Youth, on the other hand, poses a question rather than suggests an answer. What is to become of the numerically important rural youth in America now "piling up" on farms and in villages? Bruce Melvin and Elna Smith have ably described their "situation and prospects." In this carefully documented research monograph they have assembled and systematized an abundance of facts pertaining to the numbers of rural youth and their regional distribution, their economic situation, their educational status and opportunities, their use of leisure, and their adjustment to adult responsibilities, especially in marriage. One of the fine chapters in the monograph reviews exhaustively the efforts being made to meet the problems of rural youth by means of the various programs developed by governmental and non-governmental agencies. Although the authors do not pretend to offer any master solution, their conclusions are significant and their summary of the factors involved in problem-solving is worthy of note. *Rural Youth* may quite possibly be the most comprehensive and vital single volume treating the subject.

Mr. Murray's handbook for those who would be successful and happy in friendship, courtship, and marriage is a popular and heavily platitudinous harangue in the Dale Carnegie tradition.

JOHN C. HUTCHINSON, JR.

New Jersey State Teachers College

An Ecological Study of Insanity in the City. By ROBERT E. L. FARIS.

Distributed by the University of Chicago Libraries, 1939. Pp. 32. Free on application.

This brief pamphlet (about 13,000 words) is based on the author's original studies completed in 1931. His conclusion then was that insanity was associated positively with ecological patterns of social disorganization. Since schizophrenia constituted over a third of the 3205 cases used in the 1930 sample, he concluded that it dominated the sample and was largely responsible for the positive association between insanity and areas of social disorganization. When the so-called "hereditary" types of insanity were shown to be distributed more or less at random, it began to look as if there was a causal relation between the incidence of schizophrenia and social disorganization. Faris then developed the hypothesis that social isolation was an etiological factor in the incidence of schizophrenia.

If this is borne out by subsequent investigation, and all the evidence that has accumulated since the original study seems to bear it out, especially the more extensive study of Faris and Dunham with a much larger sample from Chicago and Providence, this may be put down as a "sociological discovery" of some importance. It is in harmony with the "psychosomatic medicine" which is now getting so much attention (see George W. Gray,

"Anxiety and Illness," *Harpers*, May, 1939). Faris disposes quite convincingly of the objections to his work that have been made since 1931. Actually, he anticipated most of them in the original study, but subsequent work has enabled him to support his thesis more adequately now than was possible in 1931.

In view of the recent (apparent) success in the "shock" treatment of schizophrenia by insulin and metrazol, an interesting question is raised regarding the current distinction between "functional" and "organic" psychoses. If Faris is correct, we have a disease which is largely "functional" being cured by medical rather than by "functional" therapy. Perhaps the insulin shock therapy should be called "physical" rather than medical. It seems literally to "shake" the patient into "normality." Perhaps it actually breaks up the neural patterns which have been produced by habitual "isolation" adjustments and thus makes possible the acquisition of new normal (socially adequate) neuromuscular patterns. If it should be shown that permanent cure of schizophrenia by shock therapy is dependent upon a social adaptation of the patient, and that relapses occur chiefly when the patient is thrown back into a situation that produces "isolation," it would do much to substantiate Faris' thesis.

The sociological (psycho-social) factors involved in juvenile delinquency, "intelligence," crime, divorce, desertion, suicide, wandering, and so forth, are pretty well demonstrated. Now, if Lindesmith's theory of drug addiction proves to be valid, and Faris' theory of schizophrenia is accepted, sociology will have made a considerable number of rather specific and significant contributions to the possible solution of several very vexing problems. The rapidly rising status of sociology as a science is largely due to such "successes."

READ BAIN

Miami University

The Conceptual Representation and the Measurement of Psychological Forces.

By KURT LEWIN. Durham: Duke University Press, 1938. Pp. 247. \$2.00.

Much of the confusion and argument between "schools" of thought in the social and psychological sciences undoubtedly results from the attempt to deal with intricate scientific matters in terms of a language invented by our primitive ancestors and adapted mainly to a description of their world. New language must evolve as new worlds emerge. The close relation between the evolution of mathematics and the development of science is a commonplace in the better established sciences. Such development is undoubtedly also a *sine qua non* of scientific advancement in the social sciences. Social scientists have been somewhat slow and reluctant to accept this fact. This is not to argue that any invention whatsoever of new systems of symbols is necessarily a contribution which we must adopt. New symbols must always be able to justify themselves. But neither must new methods of symbolization be discarded without consideration because they are new and therefore frequently difficult to the uninitiated reader.

The volume under review is a case in point. It continues and materially advances the same author's previous work on topology (*Principles of Topological Psychology*, McGraw-Hill, 1936). The present work attempts to reduce psychological concepts to a kind of geometry and symbolic logic of a degree of precision which current language does not possess. Sociologists as well as psychologists have frequently found it profitable to resort to diagrams and other figures to represent situations and processes. If a coherent and comprehensive system of such symbols could be developed, standardized, and ultimately metricized, such a development might do for the social sciences what the invention of the calculus did for the physical sciences. Attempts in this direction must, therefore, be sympathetically considered and should be allowed opportunity to demonstrate their usefulness, if any.

I do not know how useful the symbolism proposed in the present volume may turn out to be. That is not a question to be settled from the armchair. This volume has the advantage over its predecessor in that the present work consists not only of an exposition of a symbolic system but is for the most part devoted to an application of that system to the substantial subject matter of psychology. This subject matter and the author's treatment of it are, of course, far too comprehensive and detailed for consideration in this review. Suffice it to say that the work as a whole is of very high quality and contains some penetrating analyses. There are also a number of obscurities. For example, the author still seems to cling to an unclear notion of "concepts" and "constructs" as distinguished from mere words or other phenomena—an attempted distinction which, as carried out by this author, has befogged some of his earlier works. On the other hand, there is clear evidence that the author recognizes the difficulties inherent in certain "concepts" that still pass as explanations in psychology. I cite a single illustration: "I am speaking about the syndrome indicating a need because the term need itself can hardly be recognized as a concept in the strict sense. It is a term of the same type, as, for instance, learning, which probably will have to be eliminated in time. In other words, in formula (29) the term 'need' will have to be replaced by more precise behavioral symptoms for tension" (p. 99).

The social and psychological sciences will doubtless continue to struggle in the direction of a more objective system of symbols with which to express the relationship of the phenomena with which they deal. In this quest, they will experiment with various schemes which will be proposed from time to time. The present volume deserves serious consideration from this point of view, and its author deserves high praise for devoting his time and ability to a comparatively unpopular task but one which, in the long run, is of fundamental importance. The list of symbols, detailed glossary, and index deserve special praise. I note one minor error in the excellent bibliography: Item 13 should read *Psychology and the Social Order*.

GEORGE A. LUNDBERG

Bennington College

- New Ways in Psychoanalysis.* By KAREN HORNEY. New York: W. W. Norton and Co., Inc., 1939. Pp. 313. \$3.00.
- Character, Growth, Education.* By FRITZ KÜNKEL. Tr. by Barbara Keppel-Compton and Basil Druitt. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1938. Pp. vii+348. \$3.50.
- Emotions.* By FREDERICK H. LUND. New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1939. Pp. ix+305. \$3.50.
- Hereditary and Environmental Factors in the Causation of Manic-Depressive Psychoses and Dementia Praecox.* By HORATIO M. POLLOCK, BENJAMIN MALZBERG and REYMOND G. FULLER. Utica, N. Y.: State Hospitals Press, 1939. Pp. iv+473. \$2.50.
- Mental Hygiene in Modern Education.* Ed. by PAUL A. WITTY and CHARLES E. SKINNER. New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1939. Pp. x+539. \$2.75.
- Personality: Its Development and Hygiene.* By WINIFRED V. RICHMOND. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., 1937. Pp. ix+279. \$2.50.
- Mental Hygiene.* By WILLIAM HENRY MIKESELL. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1939. Pp. ix+456. \$2.50.
- An Introduction to Sex Education.* By WINIFRED V. RICHMOND. New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1934. Pp. xiv+312. \$2.50.
- Social Psychology of Hunger and Sex.* By A. E. AYAU. Cambridge, Mass.: Sci-Art Publishers, 1939. Pp. 160. \$2.00.

Constructive criticisms of Freud have come on the one hand from stimulus-response psychologists who have insisted upon a more concrete picture of what actually happens in the human body and behavior, and on the other hand from sociologists who have pointed out the cultural naïveté of Freud. Unlike these "outsiders," Dr. Horney is a psychoanalyst who consistently practiced the Freudian system for fifteen years and came to see its inadequacies. Her analysis of it is lucid and radical. Her heresy questions the fundamental premises of the faith more deeply than those of Jung, Adler, or Rank; yet she does not fail to point out with due appreciation the lasting contributions of Freud. She recognizes the role of the cultural environment, but does not elaborate upon it as does Plant, R. E. L. Faris, Dollard, or Ruth Benedict. She is concerned with the different individual character structures which may develop within our culture.

Among the important concepts and generalizations are the following: Neuroses are disturbances in social relations. The libido theory in all its contentions is unsubstantiated. The present structure of personality and its consequences deserve more attention, as distinguished from its genesis. There is a real kindness in human nature as well as that which is a reaction-formation against sadistic trends. There is a basic anxiety, a feeling of helplessness in a hostile world, which is not due to repression of instincts or sense of guilt. We repress valuable traits as well as harmful and socially disapproved traits. Three types of neurotic personality seem to stand out

in her analysis: the narcissist, the perfectionist, and the masochist. The excellent chapter on masochism clarifies the old paradox about the enjoyment of suffering. It is not the mores in general, but the individual's peculiar "façade" or conception of his own personal role within society which determines what he shall repress and of what he shall be ashamed. The chapter on the Superego, which analyzes the perfectionist type of personality structure in terms of compliance and defiance, is one of Horney's major contributions. *New Ways in Psychoanalysis* is an important book. For years to come, it will probably serve as a standard guide to the newer, more sociological, more realistic Freudianism.

Dr. Künkel's fundamental concept is the "we-psychology." This recognizes the social nature of the individual but places the fact of social cohesion within the individual himself rather than in external relations. In the second or third year occurs the first great and determining crisis in the child's life, the collapse of the "primal-we." Healthy development of the personality involves reconstruction of the "we" at various stages. The child (and also the adolescent) can learn to "increase tension capacity," that is, to control his own impulses for the sake of the group, provided the parent or educator joins the child in his battle with the impulse and does not become the enemy. This philosophy of social relations has influenced progressive education and nursery school practice.

It seems doubtful whether the thoughtways of the Hegelian dialectic, which pervade the book, are necessary to the understanding it conveys. One may also be suspicious of the neat logical classification of deviant personalities into stars, home children, Caesars, and dullards. Such, however, are common thoughtways of German psychology and it is interesting, and sometimes enlightening, to follow them. It is also extremely interesting to an American to read these case histories with the insights which they give into European social structure and attitudes.

Professor Lund's *Emotions* fills an important need. It is a report to the Committee on the Relation of Emotion to the Educative Process of the American Council on Education, subsidized by the Josiah Macy, Jr., Foundation. It brings together into one compact volume the methods and conclusions of the more important studies of emotion. These are of many different kinds, and include much laboratory research. There are 56 illustrations, 16 tables, and extensive bibliographies.

Difficulties in classifying and identifying emotions are largely semantic, and we find genuine syndromes of emotional reactions when we break through the confusion of words used to denote them. Study of this material should give an eternal quietus to the familiar notion that anger and other unpleasant emotions need to be given an expression, satisfaction, or catharsis analogously to hunger and sex. The unpleasant emotions play an entirely different role than do the pleasant, and their treatment should be entirely different. Lund also points out that scarcely any attention has been given to the development and enrichment of the pleasant emotions; that the scientist, in refusing to place value-judgments upon the emotions, is really dominated by a moralistic prejudice rather than free from it. If a sociolo-

gist, social worker, or guidance worker had time to read only one book on psychology, the reviewer would recommend this as being more useful to him than any treatise on *general* psychology.

The Pollock, Malzberg, and Fuller research study was conducted under the auspices of the New York State Department of Mental Hygiene and the State Charities Aid Association, with a grant from the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Foundation. It is one of a series of studies begun in 1928. The data consist of the first admissions with manic-depressive psychoses and dementia praecox to the Utica State Hospital in the years 1928-30. These 330 patients, with their families, were visited by social workers. The conclusions are that mental disorders, and also specifically the given type of mental disorder, are reliably more frequent than chance expectation among the relatives of the patients. The difference is in the order of two or three times chance expectancy. The investigators, however, could find nothing approaching a Mendelian ratio of inheritance. No significant differences appear between manic-depressive psychoses and dementia praecox as regards the strength of the supposed hereditary factor. Then, there is the tritely stated conclusion that heredity alone is not responsible, but that environment also plays a large part. Numerous case studies illustrate the numerous ways in which constitutional and environmental factors combine. There is extensive enumeration and case-counting of the specific situations which constitute environmental factors. But there is no grouping of the specific situations into meaningful larger categories affording useful comparisons. There is no review of previous research on environmental factors as there is regarding heredity. No mention is made of the rather significant work of Dunham and Faris, nor of Helen Witmer and the Smith College studies on personality of prepsychotic children. There is not even any explicit recognition of the possibility that the tendency of mental disorder to "run in families" might be explained wholly in terms of environment and family cultures. It is very much to be hoped that other studies in this series will deal with environmental data more incisively and adequately, and will rely less upon mere statistics and more upon a broad view of the whole problem.

Mental Hygiene in Modern Education is a symposium designed for educators and students of education. It attempts to give a systematic account of trends in thinking, practice, and organization in the field of mental hygiene, particularly in relation to the school. The nineteen contributions are rather uneven in clarity and helpfulness. A few provide material not easily found in a helpfully condensed form or even elsewhere in the literature.

Dr. Richmond's *Personality* and Professor Mikesell's *Mental Hygiene* are textbooks. Richmond's book is a very useful summary of the field for a student who might need something more elementary than Allport's *Personality*. She presents a better balance as between the morphological, endocrine, psychoanalytic, and other approaches than the reviewer has seen elsewhere. The single chapter on Treatment is disappointing in view of the author's wide clinical practice.

Mikesell's book is written in the dogmatic, hortatory, "pep-talk" style of

the American business man. On this level it presents rather thoroughly the major concepts and principles of mental hygiene. Professor Mikesell has freed himself from at least one of the burdens of our traditional culture. He does not believe that effort and hardship are ultimate values, and he preaches "doing things the easy way" rather than by "will power." There is another hurdle, however, which he has not cleared. He is still rather naïvely optimistic about the possibilities of simple suggestion, of making oneself think the "right thoughts," about "ideas as the real springs of action." At some points, his wisdom sounds like that of catching a bird by putting salt on its tail. His chapters on Irritability and Purpose are especially valuable, and present a practical analysis of their problems much better than the reviewer has seen done by anyone else.

Richmond's *An Introduction to Sex Education* is a review of essentials of sexual biology and psychology, useful as a textbook, especially for classes having some intelligence but no uniform educational prerequisites. There is a good balance and wide range in the selection of material.

Ayau's book is one of those very thoughtful little essays, which, through the author's own independent thoughtways, arrives at many conclusions already familiar to experienced students of the field. It has its own unique system of concepts and classifications, many of which are in tabular and graphic form.

JOSEPH K. FOLSOM

Vassar College

Research and Statistical Methodology, Books and Reviews, 1933-1938. Ed. by OSCAR K. BUROS. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1938. Pp. vi+100. \$1.25.

Index of Research Projects, Vol. II. Works Progress Administration in collaboration with the National Resources Committee and State Planning Agencies. Ed. by HAROLD R. HOSEA. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1939. Pp. vi+208. Free on request.

Workbook in Statistical Method with Special Reference to the Social Sciences. By JACK W. DUNLAP. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1939. Pp. ix+145. \$1.75.

Methods of Statistical Analysis. By C. H. GOULDEN. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1939. Pp. vii+277. \$3.50.

Research and Statistical Methodology is a reprint of a portion of *The 1938 Mental Measurements Yearbook of the School of Education of Rutgers University*. The present excerpt consists of evaluative statements selected from published reviews of "practically all the research and statistical methodology books and monographs published between January 1, 1933 and November 15, 1938 and written in the English language." The material previously published in *Educational, Psychological, and Personality Tests of 1936* is not included in the present volume, but the omitted material is covered by cross references. The book represents an interesting attempt to provide a con-

venient catalog and brief estimates of the rapidly growing literature in this field. Over 200 items are listed with excerpts from reviews of each.

Index to Research Projects is a classified index to the voluminous research activities of public planning organizations during the past five years. Natural Resources, Planning, Economic and Social Surveys, Recreation, Conservation, Science and Technology, Economics, Governmental Research, Demography, and Social Problems are among the fields covered. This volume and Volume I, which appeared previously, do for the fields covered what the unfortunately discontinued *Social Science Abstracts* attempted to do for social research in general. The general system of the *Abstracts* has been here adopted, and under the experienced editorship of Harold R. Hosea, an extraordinarily valuable digest of recent research in these fields has resulted. Such published reports or manuscripts as are available in Washington but not available for distribution may be secured in microfilm reproductions at one cent per page plus a fixed charge of twenty cents. About 1200 classified studies are digested in the present volume. An excellent index further enhances its usefulness. It is to be hoped that the government will expand this type of service to include all social research.

Dunlap's *Workbook* is a laboratory manual for the first course in statistics especially adapted for students of psychology and education. It covers the usual material, and endeavors to combine instruction in computation and mathematical derivations with practice in the interpretation of published investigations. This is the best workbook that has come to my attention and it will doubtless find much use in large classes in statistics. Several useful nomographs are included.

Methods of Statistical Analysis is a textbook designed for workers in the biological sciences who have passed the elementary stage and "who have studied a fair amount of theory and principles and now wish to equip themselves for actual statistical work in their own field of research activities" (p. v). The emphasis, therefore, is on actual full-size problem of the type which agronomists, cereal chemists, plant breeders, and economic entomologists are likely to encounter. This is not to say that the book is without interest to the sociologist, for methods useful in the social sciences are frequently first developed and tested in the biological sciences. Following a good summary of elementary subjects in the first three chapters, this text continues with chapters on the tests of significance of small samples, the design of simple experiments in the fields mentioned above, linear and non-linear regression, correlation, multiple and partial regression and correlation, the Chi-square test, tests of goodness of fit and independence with small samples, the analysis of variance and covariance, and some tests of special interest to agronomers. The methods set forth are chiefly those developed by R. A. Fisher. As in the case of most statistics texts, a better estimate of its value could be given after using it for a year. Brief examination gives one the impression, however, that it is a work of very high quality.

GEORGE A. LUNDBERG

Bennington College

- Pueblo Indian Religion*. 2 vols. By ELSIE CLEWS PARSONS. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939. Pp. xviii+1275. \$7.00.
- The Menomini Indians of Wisconsin*. By FELIX M. KEESING. Memoirs of The American Philosophical Society, Vol. X. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1939. Pp. xi+261. \$2.50.
- Tsimshian Clan and Society*. By VIOLA E. GARFIELD. Publications in Anthropology, Vol. VII, No. 3. Seattle: University of Washington, 1939. Pp. 169-340. \$1.75.
- Shamanism in Western North America*. By WILLARD Z. PARK. Northwestern University Studies in the Social Sciences, No. 2. Menasha, Wis.: Banta Publishing Co., 1938. Pp. viii+166. \$2.25.
- Bantu Heritage*. By H. P. JUNOD. Johannesburg, South Africa: Hortors Limited; American agents, New York: Messrs. Sherwood's, Inc., n.d. Pp. iii+155, 40 plates. \$7.50.
- Prophecy and Divination Among the Hebrews and Other Semites*. By ALFRED GUILLAUME. The Bampton Lectures, 1938. New York: Harper and Bros., 1938. Pp. xviii+434. \$5.00.
- Studies in Popular Islam*. A Collection of Papers Dealing with the Superstitions and Beliefs of the Common People. By SAMUEL M. ZWEMER. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1939. Pp. xii+148. \$2.50.

Both layman and ethnographer have always been struck by the rich and varied religious ceremonialism of the Pueblo Indians, but published information has been scattered in innumerable sources, and the bibliography dates back more than fifty years. Parsons, whose intimate acquaintance with the Pueblos extends over almost a quarter of a century, has now given us an authoritative compendium of all that is known about the religion of these peoples, supplemented by an Appendix which contains her suggestions for further investigation.

An Introduction (111 pp.) gives a bird's-eye view of Pueblo culture as a whole. Documented in detail, it is as unique as it is valuable. Of particular interest to social psychologists is a section (pp. 76-111) that contains a documented discussion of what the author considers to be typical native attitudes, "expressed in ritual, in folk tales, and now and again in the talk or conduct of individuals" About one third of Volume I is given over to an analysis of ritual elements after the spiritual entities of the cosmos and ceremonial organization have been dealt with. Half of Volume II contains detailed summaries of all Pueblo ceremonies succeeded by a review of these, town by town, in order to give a more integrated picture.

An outstanding feature of the book is its thoroughgoing historical and geographical orientation, the framework within which temporal and regional cultural variability is discussed in concrete detail. Over 200 pages in Volume II are taken up with problems of cultural dynamics under the general topics "Variation and Borrowing" and "Other Processes of Change." For no other American area, at least, do we have anything comparable to

the author's contribution in this regard. There is a very detailed index, a number of summary tables, many illustrations, and two maps.

Few Indian groups have remained close to their original habitat while still retaining their tribal identity under the impact of cultural contacts with the whites. Also, there are few groups whose past history can be investigated over any considerable period by means of documentary sources. All these conditions are met in the case of the Menomini Indians. And it was for this reason that Clark Wissler suggested to F. M. Keesing, who had previously studied the culture contacts of native peoples with the whites in the Pacific, that he undertake such a study of the Menomini. The result is an excellent acculturation study within the limits made possible by the source material. The period covered is from 1634 to 1929, the year when the author spent four months on the reservation. The emphasis is on factual material rather than theoretical questions, and a great deal of the book necessarily deals with the political aspects of the situation during the reservation period. But the reconstruction of native life, viewed in the perspective of later changes, affords the basis for a critical appraisal of the reputed aboriginality of a number of customs. Some of these have been assumed to be aboriginal, not only for the Menomini, but for other Woodland Indians; for example, the relative importance of fishing and trapping in winter, the "band" as a unit of social organization, certain motifs in decorative art, and so forth. This is not the place to discuss these in detail, but to my mind it is methodologically significant that the approach of the author affords a somewhat new perspective on such items. This is all the more true since our ethnographical reports (Hoffman and Skinner) have not given the same emphasis to the facts.

The research on which Garfield's study is based was initiated under the direction of Boas, whose lifelong interest in and contributions to our knowledge of the culture of the Indians of British Columbia is well known. The task of the author "was carried out for the purpose of more clearly defining the functioning relationships of Tsimshian individuals to each other as determined by their clan and tribal affiliations." Despite the fact that such a study must necessarily be oriented toward the past, since contact with the whites has deeply modified native social and economic life, we obtain from the material presented an excellent comprehension of how Tsimshian society worked.

After describing the shamanistic complex of the Paviootso, or Northern Paiute, which he studied at first-hand, Park plots the geographical distribution of the elements of this complex shared by peoples in contiguous areas. "The differing distributions of different parts of the complex not only establish that Paviootso practices and beliefs are an amalgam of historically diverse elements, but in addition yield evidence of the multiplicity of cultural affiliations which have contributed to its growth." The author goes on to consider the theoretical bearing of his data upon the reconstruction of cultural history in western North America. He cautions against the uncritical use of "unit traits" to this end without "first determining the actual history of the conditions under which specific elements of culture have clustered or separated. Isolating segments of culture as culture units without

this historical knowledge is based on *a priori* ethnological conceptualizing, and as such may lead to misleading and indefensible inference of the past."

Aside from the fact that it is splendidly illustrated by photographs from the collection of A. M. Duggan-Cronin, Junod's book is of no value to the social scientist. It is full of banalities about the Bantu language; it gives samples of folk-lore, native beliefs, and so on. Its author is a missionary, son of the late H. A. Junod whose book *The Life of a South African Tribe*, 2 volumes, 2nd edition, 1927, is a standard ethnographic work.

The chief focus of Guillaume's erudite work is "the various ways in which the Semites endeavoured to penetrate the mystery of man's relation to the Unseen World." The author describes the evolution of prophecy, its decline and fall, and its revival in New Testament times. There is very interesting material on dreams and visions, magic, sorcery and ecstatic states, including data on the dervishes.

The papers in Zwemer's book are reprintings of contributions written chiefly for the *Moslem World Quarterly* during the past twenty-five years. Some of the topics are: The Rosary in Islam; The Palladium of Islam; The Familiar Spirit or Qarina; Hair, Finger-Nails and the Hand.

A. I. HALLOWELL

University of Pennsylvania

Organic Thinking: A Study in Rabbinic Thought. By MAX KADUSHIN. New York: Behrman's Jewish Book House, in association with The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1938. Pp. xvi+367. \$3.00.

This work should prove to be of great interest to the student of the social sciences because it contains not only a careful and penetrating analysis of the nature of organic thinking in general but also a concrete application of the organismic approach to a specific thought-organism; namely, to rabbinic theology.

Kadushin's thesis may be described briefly as follows: Rabbinic theology cannot be represented as a logical system. It is instead an organic complex of concepts at the basis of which lie four fundamental concepts: God's loving-kindness, His justice, Torah, and Israel. These four concepts are called fundamental because they are the constitutive elements of all the other rabbinic concepts. In addition, these fundamental concepts also interweave with one another. Rabbinic theology is thus a unitary pattern in which all the concepts bear an inherent relationship to one another. The coherence between the concepts is not of a logical character, that is, one concept does not proceed from the other in inferential fashion. It is rather an organic coherence, each concept deriving its meaning and relationship to the other concepts from the complex as a whole.

Since the relationship between the concepts is not such that one must inevitably follow from the other, the organic complex is flexible and allows for divergent interpretations of a given situation. The same concept when combined with one of the four fundamental concepts will sometimes result in an interpretation which may even contradict the interpretation resulting from its combination with another of the four concepts. Interestingly

enough, Kadushin points out that the allowance for individual configurations meant that the organic complex, even though its coherence was organic, nevertheless provided a framework for logical thinking. Inferential reasoning was employed, for instance, in the interpretation of Biblical texts and in the concretization of the concepts. Thus when viewed as an organic complex, it will be understood why rabbinic theology has always exhibited an underlying unity of thought and at the same time allowed for divergent individual interpretations or configurations. This dichotomy of the constancy of typical group concepts and the indeterminacy of individual interpretations is likewise characteristic of social values in general. The organismic approach will therefore help one better to understand the nature of the valuational life.

There is, however, one fallacy which the social scientist must avoid, a fallacy which Kadushin finds in the philosophies of organisms of such men as Whitehead and Dewey. This fallacy consists in failing to distinguish the generalizations which epitomize aspects of the organismic process from the organic concepts themselves. These generalizations are only analytic tools but not organic concepts. The first task of the social scientist who adopts the organismic approach is to discover the organismic forms in social life, each with its own individuality, and to demonstrate the organismic character of each "with respect to the constituents peculiar to itself." Generalizations will prove to be empty until the organismic social forms are discovered and carefully analyzed.

In his conclusion, Kadushin compares the results of Lévy-Bruhl's analysis of primitive mentality with his own analysis of rabbinic theology, and finds that primitive thought is also a form of organic thinking. It is like rabbinic theology in that it is non-hierarchical and in that it acts as a framework for logical thinking. It differs from rabbinic theology in that it is an undeveloped form of organic thinking in which there is not yet present a pattern of fully differentiated individual concepts.

Kadushin's theory is based upon his analysis of one rabbinic text, namely, "Seder Eliahu Rabba and Seder Eliahu Zuta." In order, therefore, to ascertain his assertion that the above-mentioned four concepts are the fundamental ones in the rabbinic organic complex, it will be necessary to analyze more rabbinic texts. Ideas which receive little or no prominence in this particular text may play an important part in other texts. It is quite possible that in the light of the material gathered from other texts, the view as to what are the fundamental concepts in the rabbinic complex will have to undergo some change.

To those who are interested in the sociology of religion or the sociology of knowledge, this work will serve as a very useful case study because the author has presented in it a concrete and detailed application of his theory to a given religious system. Kadushin's work reveals sound scholarship and it is hoped that he will continue his investigations in this field and thereby throw further light upon the nature of religious thought.

ISRAEL J. KAZIS

Jewish Theological Seminary of America

War Without Violence. By KRISHNALAL SHRIDHARANI, Preface by Oswald Garrison Villard. New York: Harcourt Brace and Co., Inc., 1939. Pp. x+351. \$2.50.

Satyagraha (süt' yā grū' hā) means truth-insistence, etymologically; actually, it means nonviolent direct action. Gandhi, like Christ, brings not peace, but a sword—the sword of the spirit. Satyagraha recognizes that conflict and cooperation are reciprocals; that there is no absolute truth; that values are relative, but basic to social life; that when values are in conflict, *action* must decide which values are to prevail. These factors are the moral basis of war; it is a means by which men may identify themselves with fundamental values, and struggle and sacrifice to make these values prevail—even unto death. It is dramatic, adventurous, thrilling—gives men in the mass the sense of really *living*, even though, paradoxically, they are dying and killing others. But “sin” is stricken thereby; “evil” is attacked in the name of “righteousness.” “Without shedding of blood, there is no remission” (of sin).

Satyagraha recognizes the fundamental reality of this point of view, but it also observes the flaw in the argument. When there is resort to force, there is also an implicit rejection of the relativity of truth and the assumption of absolutism, both as to ends and means. Consequently, war never can settle fundamental differences. However, this conclusion does not lead merely to the rejection of force and the acceptance of passive resistance: no Satyagrahi can submit to injustice, nor be a servile, resigned pacifist. Followers of Christ have often taken this to be his doctrine—“resist not evil,” “turn the other cheek,” “render unto Caesar.” But Christ also taught active service of the good, that men should suffer for righteousness and *overcome* evil with good: “the meek shall inherit.” When armed with the Spirit, they become the “terrible meek.” Gandhi and his followers have taken this doctrine, which is deeply embedded in the ancient history and philosophy of India, and have worked out a dynamic pattern by which “good” may overcome “evil”; by which the meek and weak may wage “war” against the proud and predacious; by which “truth” may be *insisted* upon until it prevails. This is Satyagraha. Mr. Shridharani has written a very interesting and brilliant exposition of the development, techniques, and achievements of Satyagraha.

This is its pattern: negotiation and arbitration; agitation; demonstration and ultimatum; self-purification; strikes (and general strike); picketing; *Dhurna* (sit-down strike); boycott; nonpayment of taxes; *Hizrat* (mass migration); noncooperation; ostracism; civil disobedience; assertion (informal assumption of governmental functions); parallel government (continuation and completion of assertion).

These techniques (or some of them) can be used in conflicts between individuals and groups, group and group, the community and the state, and presumably, between states. Instances are given of the successful use of Satyagraha in all these cases except the last. Of course, all (and more) of the techniques of the pattern mentioned have been used from time immemorial, but Gandhi, perhaps, is the first man who has systematically worked them

out into a more or less consistent pattern and applied them in a wide variety of social conflicts. Particularly, he has emphasized the necessity for moral preparedness and social discipline, and has developed a great social organization for providing these. The good Satyagrahi must really *love* his opponent, and assist him to *hurt* the Satyagrahi, because *Ahimsa* (sacrificial, willed suffering) is the very basis of the dynamic power of Satyagraha. The oppressor must be brought to see that in hurting the Satyagrahi, he is really hurting himself—that all men truly are brothers and members one of another. The Satyagrahi will not resist, but he will never submit—through fear of punishment, or to any order given in anger. He will be a good prisoner, but will never submit to anything that insults his dignity as a human being or that vitiates the cause for which he is struggling. He wins by the justice of his cause and the inviolable strength of his spirit. He knows no fear and will persist in his "truth-insistence" even unto death. Satyagraha is not ascetic, nor masochistic, nor coercive; it is merely an expression of the invincible power of the consecrated person dedicated to a "worthy" cause; it is superlative moral courage and perfected self-control.

What would be the result if such tactics were used in conflict with a ruthless opponent? Suppose 2,000,000 Czechs had lain down in the roads before the Hitler tanks? Suppose the million Jews in Germany had practiced Satyagraha? Or what would happen if the government should also practice Satyagraha—that is, suppose it did not resort to force, but treated all resisters kindly? Suppose our sit-down strikes had really been nonviolent and Satyagrahic?

Such questions conjure up visions of anarchy, even though it is peaceful; of cruel oppression to many interest pressure groups that could not command a mass support. Of course, Gandhi would reply that if their causes were "just," they would sooner or later get such mass support. One would think that in a democratic country, Satyagraha might exercise a powerful influence on public opinion, but Americans have never been noted for their moral or spiritual courage. We tend to exalt physical violence—and to hate cowardice—and by cowardice, we mean refusal to resort to fisticuffs. We are perhaps too close to our frontier heritage to make very good Satyagrahis, though Mr. Shridharani is of the opinion that it would work especially well here because of the tradition of face-to-face association, our hatred of injustice and unfreedom, our faith in the fundamental dignity of the average man, and the technological facilities for dramatizing public opinion. It is obvious that insofar as Satyagraha works, it does so because the oppressors have taken a position which violates the universal aversion of men to cruelty, bloodshed, injustice, and exploitation. Hence, Satyagraha cannot succeed unless its cause is "just" and that of the opponent "evil."

One wonders how important the charismatic leader is in successful Satyagraha. The very democratic tradition of America, our this-worldly mores, would seem to militate against the emergence of such a leader as Gandhi. We do not even respond very enthusiastically to the Hitler or Lenin or Napoleon or Luther type of charismatic leader. One wonders also if Saty-

agraha would work so well in India if the people were not so completely disarmed and so close to the margin of starvation.

READ BAIN

Miami University

New Frontiers of Religion. By ARTHUR L. SWIFT. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1938. Pp. xii+171. \$2.00.

Living Religion. By HORNE LL HART. New York: The Abingdon Press, 1937. Pp. 260. \$1.50.

Skeptic's Quest. By HORNE LL HART. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1938. Pp. 173. \$2.00.

The Pendulum Swings Back. By MARVIN M. BLACK. Nashville: Cokesbury Press, 1938. Pp. ix+229. \$2.00.

While Arthur L. Swift, Jr., in his book *New Frontiers of Religion* deals with a very broad field, his chief concern is to interpret all of religion in terms of what he speaks of as the changing community. Dr. Swift takes a broad start by outlining what he conceives the sociology of religion to be. He illustrates his main theses under four main headings: (1) basic patterns of religious behavior; (2) the church as the product of social change; (3) the church as the cause of social change, and (4) new frontiers of religion. He emphasizes in his discussion of the field of the sociology of religion the origins of religion, its development, its function in society and its relationship with other institutions. He gives as a subtitle to the volume, "The Church in a Changing Community," which indicates an emphasis upon the view for treatment and, at the same time, presents something of an hypothesis—namely, that religion is itself always in a state of change and is always in relationship to a society which is changing. In dealing with these topics, he begins with Judaism, treats early Christianity, Protestantism in Europe and America, the church in industrial America, religion and science, and the present status of Protestantism in rural and urban America. He adds chapters on types of city churches which have arisen as the result of industrialism and urbanization.

In his discussion of the church as a factor of social change, he states the implications of the different theological positions for this topic. He places at opposite ends of his scale Barthianism and Humanism. These rightly seem to Swift to be the two positions which are set over against each other in modern theological thought. Swift takes his position against an easy optimism of reform on the one hand and that man can do nothing about his world on the other hand. He also adds that, no matter what theology one may have, he must recognize a close relationship between organized religion and the prevailing morals of his society. The question of the relationship of church and state is presented as illustrative material in the larger field of the relationship of church to the "world." It is Dr. Swift's position that the verdict of history is that, while the church has sponsored much-needed social change, "innovation is but a minor role." According to

him, "organized religion has consistently and with power played the part of the conservator of attested social values." In his discussion of the "new frontiers of religion," the title of a section which he considers sufficiently important to give to the book as a whole, he emphasizes the point that in our day men need to renew their faith in God and recognize as the major task of churches that of aiding mankind in its search after God. He sees worship as one of the chief means for the accomplishment of this great task, but hastens to add sections on religion and leisure, on the church and group education, and methods of self-study, thus recognizing the necessity of the use of all the natural and scientific facilities to relate the church to the basic needs of men in their relationships with each other.

Dr. Swift attempts to cover so much territory that he lays himself open to the criticism of sketchiness. A redeeming feature of his book, however, is the fact that for the most part he gives one his own slants and hypotheses on many important topics without the use of materials which in any way becloud the statements.

It is fortunate that the reviewer is able to put together these two books of Hornell Hart, *A Living Religion* and *Skeptic's Quest*. Dr. Hart evidently wrote his book *Living Religion* for people who are now connected with churches but who are in one way or another dissatisfied with what it is accomplishing or with its methods of procedure. It is his way of indicating how religion may be put into action in the personal life and in social reconstruction. It impresses the reviewer as a very interesting combination by a man who knows the field of sociology very well but who has something of the mystical outlook of the Quaker together with a deep interest in his fellowmen. One of the most interesting aspects of this book is that without saying so he makes a social-psychological interpretation of the procedures employed in Quaker religion, or perhaps one should say that the volume illustrates "conversation of attitudes" which can go on in a person when he subjects himself to the influences of religion.

In contrast with *Living Religion*, *Skeptic's Quest* is evidently written for people who are not connected with the church and who have not found in it the values which many other people do find in religion. The book presents a kind of Socratic method in which the student, the thinker, the philosopher, the sociologist, the M. E. minister, the Unitarian minister, the theosophist, the feminine voice, Mr. Workerson and Mr. Merchantson, the psychologist, the psychical researcher, and others present their views. They discuss whether or not there is a patternful Universe, whether or not the person is free, the nature of the inner world, what is truth, what happens after death, the place of purpose and personality, and related topics. It reads very much like an animated group discussion which Dr. Hart himself might conduct. The reviewer would like to suggest that Dr. Hart might, with very great profit, carry still further his analysis of the social-psychological factors involved in the procedures of the "Friends," and that he could make a still further contribution in the field of the place of religion in building personal morale. While these books are written in a popular style, they suggest that sociologists have only begun to explore the field

of the sociology of religion. The sociology of religion will undoubtedly in due course of time turn out to be a fruitful approach to the field of religion.

Marvin M. Black, in *The Pendulum Swings Back*, is dealing most definitely and specifically with what he conceives to be a major shift in thought, a trend which has very special implications for the field of religion. He defends the thesis that the mechanistic interpretation of behavior is losing favor in the fields of biology, physiology, psychology, and medicine. He quotes many authorities in proof of this position, but does not indicate that he has used any efforts to determine the extent of the trend or the number of people in the various groups who subscribe to the positions which he takes. He maintains that many thinkers in varying schools of thought "find a common meeting ground in the concept of emergent evolution" (page 56.) The author of this volume makes no claims for the quantitative treatment of his materials. He introduces much valuable and suggestive material as he presents his case.

SAMUEL C. KINCHELOE

Y.M.C.A. College, Chicago

The Rediscovery of Man. By HENRY C. LINK. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1938. Pp. ix+257. \$1.75.

Social Adjustment in Methodism. By JOHN PAUL WILLIAMS. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1938. Pp. ix+131. \$1.60.

What Church People Think about Social and Economic Issues. By ROSS SANDERSON and NORMAN TROTT. New York: Association Press, 1938. Pp. 79. \$0.75.

Christian Science; A Case Study of a Religion as a Form of Adjustment Behavior. By JOSEPH K. JOHNSON. St. Louis: Washington University, 1938. Pp. 20. \$0.50.

Manual for the Study of the City Church. By MURRAY H. LEIFFER. New York: The Methodist Book Concern, 1939. Pp. 62. \$0.25.

The nub of Link's book is that the individual can and should actively direct his own life. The sciences, from physics to sociology, have minimized his power and significance. Man can improve his "personality," i.e., "the extent to which the individual has developed habits and skills which interest and serve other people." After a platitudinous first chapter comes a readable pot-pourri of suggestions, moralizing, and descriptions of cases handled. Here is a book with materials of value prepared for popular consumption.

Williams' thesis is that an organization such as the church should strive for "institutional social adjustment through continuous self-conscious change." He gathered data through 189 interviews and 347 questionnaires from Methodist ministers and laity in Massachusetts. On this basis, he is able to show that there are some marked contrasts between the formal and

official statements of belief and practice in the denominations and the attitudes of the people.

The third publication is a careful analysis of the opinions of a cross-section of white Baltimore Protestants. They were most liberal when commenting on the ideals and mission of the church, most conservative when dealing with private property. Some of the laity were more radical, but by far the larger number were more conservative than the ministry.

Johnson's dissertation is a descriptive study of Christian Science. But he makes his statistical data on membership characteristics stretch too far, with invalid results. The analysis of 547 testimonials is interesting but scarcely adequate.

The last pamphlet presents techniques for the analysis of the city, its population movements and community characteristics, church membership distribution and trends, church programs, etc. Fourteen maps and charts illustrate some of the techniques.

MURRAY H. LEIFFER

Garrett Biblical Institute

The Natural History of Population. By RAYMOND PEARL. New York: Oxford University Press, 1939. Pp. xii+416. \$3.50.

Proceedings: Congrès international de la population. Paris: Hermann et C^{ie}, 1938. 8 vols. I. *Théorie générale de la population.* Pp. 270. 50 fr. II. *Démographie historique.* Pp. 104. 25 fr. III. *Démographie statistique, Études d'ensemble.* Pp. 154. 30 fr. IV. *Démographie statistique. Études spéciales: État de la population, migration.* Pp. 147. 30 fr. V. *Démographie statistique. Études spéciales: Natalité, nuptialité, mortalité.* Pp. 248. 45 fr. VI. *Démographie de la France d'outremer.* Pp. 127. 30 fr. VII. *Facteurs et conséquences de l'évolution démographique.* Pp. 212. 40 fr. VIII. *Problèmes qualitatifs de la population.* Pp. 258. 50 fr.

Volkszählung: Die Familien und Haushaltungen nach den Ergebnissen der Volks- und Berufszählung 1933. Germany. Statistisches Reichsamt. Berlin: Verlag für Sozialpolitik, Wirtschaft und Statistik, 1937. Heft 1. *Die Ehen im Deutschen Reich nach der Zahl der geborenen Kinder.* (Statistik des Deutschen Reichs. Band 452, 1.) Pp. 216. RM. 4.30. Heft 2. *Die Familien im Deutschen Reich nach der Zahl der im Haushalt lebenden Kinder.* (Statistik des Deutschen Reichs. Band 452, 2.) Pp. 88. RM. 1.80. Heft 3. *Die Haushaltungen im Deutschen Reich.* (Statistik des Deutschen Reichs. Band. 452, 3.) Pp. 65. RM. 1.30.

Die berufliche und soziale Gliederung der Bevölkerung in der Tschechoslowakei. By Heinz O. Ziegler. Brünn, etc.: Verlag Rudolf M. Rohrer, 1936. Pp. 239+tables. RM. 15.00.

Pearl's interesting book embodies his 1937 series of Heath Clark Lectures at the University of London. Although describing the results of many statistical studies in the author's laboratory, the volume lays major emphasis on a large-scale research, financed by the Milbank Memorial Fund,

into the prevalence and effect of contraceptive efforts among American urban women. The sample of 30,949 women is the largest for which such data have ever been collected.

The first two chapters, which deal with the biological background of population growth and with the biology of fertility, should be particularly informative to sociologists. It would be difficult to find a better summary of present knowledge on libido, innate reproductive capacity, menarche, menopause, reproductive span, litter size, frequency of coitus, and reproductive wastage. Painstaking compilation, refinement, and analysis have been made for many sets of data on these phenomena.

Chapter III contains chiefly analyses of births in the U. S. Birth Registration Area in 1930 regarding actual versus potential fertility, adequacy of reproduction, variations of fertility with color-nativity and age, and parity. Several times in the course of the rather involved technical procedure, it appears that further control over pertinent factors and further examination of the selections involved could have modified the conclusions.

The next two chapters present the results of the previously mentioned study of contraceptive efforts. The sample consisted of women who were obstetrical cases in the hospitals of 26 large cities east of the Mississippi in 1931 or 1932. Women are classified as "contraceptors" or as "noncontraceptors" according to whether or not they ever at any time employed any kind of contraception. No pregnancy rates are given for periods of contraceptive experience, so that the actual efficacy of contraception as practiced cannot be ascertained. The author's scientific indignation against the mensurational fallacies of birth control propagandists occasionally leads him to statements that, unless taken in their widest context, give the impression that the effectiveness of contraceptive efforts is lower than it really is. However, a comparison of the pregnancy rates per 100 computed ovulations for contraceptors and noncontraceptors clearly brings out that contraception is the major factor producing class differences in fertility, and that innate biological differences between such groups, if they exist at all, play a very minor role. Differentials considered include those by color-nativity, economic status, education, and religion.

The final chapter treats the history of world population and its probable future trends. There is also a bibliography of some 700 references consulted for this book.

The Paris Population Congress was organized under the auspices of the International Union for the Scientific Investigation of Population Problems. All of the papers, addresses, and committee reports are printed in English, French, German, or Italian with French summaries for papers not given in French. Even the tetralingual character of the publication, however, cannot excuse the numerous typographical errors.

Among so many articles it is not surprising that the quality should be quite variable. The highest proportions of valuable contributions are to be found in Volumes I, III, IV, V, and VII. There are some interesting notes on pure demography by Lotka, Sauvy, Landry, and Bunle. Depoid has two ingenious tables on the probabilities of the dissolution of a marriage

by death or by divorce according to its duration and according to the ages of the partners. Other papers concern the trend in the correlation between nuptiality and the business cycle (Glass), differential marriage rates by social class (Kiser), relative fertility of in-migrants and natives of Turin (Golzio), and the measurable effects of the National Socialist population policies (Burgdörfer). Many additional papers deserve mention. Altogether there is a larger number of noteworthy contributions than was given at any previous Population Congress.

The 1933 German census was the first to collect data on the biological family. The resulting distributions of wives by the number of children born in the present marriage furnish a wealth of material for the study of differential fertility, although arithmetic means have been computed for Prussia only. Factors considered include date of marriage, age at marriage, geographic area, size of community, occupation and industry of the family head, employment status of the wife, ownership of land, and, for independent farmers, amount of land cultivated. In selected districts fertility is also related to religion. The second volume presents statistics on the number of children under 16 living with the family. The third volume divides households into three types: families, single persons, and institutions. Accompanying textual analysis sets a high standard for census work.

Professor Ziegler of the Deutsche Universität in Prague has attempted to reclassify the Czechoslovakian statistics on the gainfully employed by industry into categories that he regards as more homogeneous with respect to conditions of life and labor. For example, he believes there is sociological justification for grouping rural tradesmen and artisans with those employed in agriculture. His estimates lead to a changed view of the extent to which Czechoslovakia is industrialized. There is very little that has to do with "occupation" or "social-economic class" as these terms are used in this country.

HENRY S. SHRYOCK, JR.

Princeton University

Population, Race, and Eugenics. By MORRIS SIEGEL. Published by author. 546 Barton St. East, Hamilton, Ont. Pp. x+206. \$3.00.

This book gives the impression of having been written by a person of strong intellectual vigor, but of inferior scholarly equipment. It covers a number of questions in the fields of population and eugenics, but covers none of them with the closeness of reasoning and careful weighing of evidence that marks a work of the scholar. Its pages contain a number of crudities of style and inaccuracies of reference. Its viewpoint is that of the convinced eugenicist; and the recommendations for a positive and constructive public policy are certainly not without interest. The general statement of the present situation seems to the reviewer sound, but the book has nothing to offer the student in its field.

FRANK H. HANKINS

Smith College

Le destin des races blanches. 2nd ed. By HENRI DECUGIS, with preface by André Siegfried. Paris: Librairie Félix Alcan, 1938. Pp. x+565. 50 frs.

M. Decugis has added six new chapters to his comparative statistical economic and social survey of world trends, the first edition of which appeared in 1936. The statistical materials have been brought up to date. In the new chapters, the author discusses the effects of falling prices, industrialization, and urbanization, and describes, with respect to the white race, changes in ethnic composition, religious attitudes, and prevalence of collectivism. M. Decugis believes his economic and cultural statistics to show that the economic and cultural hegemony of the white man now hangs in the balance. The work is indexed.

J. J. SPENGLER

Duke University

Practical Problems in Economics. By BROADUS MITCHELL and LOUISE PEARSON MITCHELL. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1938. Pp. vi+596. \$2.50.

Population, Resources, and Trade. By BURNHAM NORTH DELL and GEORGE FRANCIS LUTHRINGER. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1938. Pp. x+291. \$1.20.

Labor Problems in American Industry. Rev. ed. By CARROLL R. DAUGHERTY. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1938. Pp. xxii+984+xiv. \$3.50.

The books under review, though expressly dealing with economic subject matter, move far into sociological fields. Within them, economics and sociology are closely knit together, and students of sociology will find it well worth while to peruse their contents. All three are scholarly, readable, informative, and timely.

One cannot help but give the Mitchells a bouquet of praise for putting out a textbook on economic problems that is interesting, exciting, and clear, to the point of making delightful reading. The authors straddle no fences, evade no issues. They come to essential grips with the distressing problems of modern society in economic travail. They mince no words in their vigorous analysis of the glaring contradiction of poverty in the midst of plenty. While critics may object to a tendentious note in the stout defense of the rights of the common man, in the championing of the interests of the working and middle classes, they will have to admit that this forthright partiality enhances rather than detracts from the vivid qualities of the book.

Dell and Luthringer give short shrift to the overpopulation bugaboo that for a long time haunted the sleep of old-fashioned sociologists. Of especial merit is their appraisal of Malthusianism and of the various optimum theories of population held today. The chapter on the social and economic significance of population changes, particularly on the consequences of the decline in the rate of population growth, calls for careful reading on the part of all students of social trends.

Carroll R. Daugherty has written a virtual encyclopedia on labor problems. If anything the job is too thorough; it covers too many angles, encroaches upon too many related fields. The unsophisticated reader will very probably miss the forest because of the trees. The author delves into such matters as the nature of human nature (and here he goes astray on an instinct psychology tangent), the history of capitalism, the history of American trade unions, the cooperative movement, the varieties of socialism and communism, wage theories, and the Marxian theory of value. Aside from a few defects, as, for instance, the ascribing of the economic interpretation of history to Marxist theory, the book is a valuable source of information on capital and labor.

ARTHUR KATONA

Kansas State Teachers College

Right and Wrong in Labor Relations. By WILLIAM M. LEISERSON. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1939. Pp. 86. \$1.00.

Social Problems in Labor Relations. A Case Book. By PAUL FIGORS, L. C. McKENNEY, and T. O. ARMSTRONG. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1939. Pp. xxiii+325. \$3.00.

Civil Liberties and Industrial Conflict. By ROGER N. BALDWIN and CLARENCE B. RANDALL. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1939. Pp. 137. \$1.50.

Mr. Leiserson's booklet is a reprint of a lecture delivered at the University of California. He points out that a generation ago it was the custom to speak of "the labor problem," but that study and experience have since greatly widened the concept so that today we speak of "labor relations" or "industrial relations." "Instead of a more or less mechanical problem caused by the conflict of economic forces, we now see a host of psychological and social problems brought on by the necessity that human beings, in the form of regimented armies of managers, officials, salaried employees, and wage earners, must work and live together, with intricate obligations to one another as order-givers and order-takers."

No better guide to this conception of labor relations than Mr. Leiserson can be found. This short essay is an excellent introduction to the subject and could be read with especial profit by those employers who think that a satisfactory check in the pay envelope is all that a worker needs or cares about. One or two sentences concerning the relationship between wages and production costs have a suspiciously sentimental ring, and suggest a willingness to ignore the relationship between wage levels and unemployment; but in so condensed a treatment some omissions are inevitable, and perhaps I misjudge Mr. Leiserson. On the whole, the essay is full of wisdom and sound advice. The balanced judgment of this experienced arbitrator and trained observer is that on the whole the industrial unrest of 1937 and the greater part of the violence which accompanied it are attributable to the failure of employers to grant elementary rights of collec-

tive bargaining. The "happy family" broken up by the intimidations or false propaganda of outside agitators is a myth.

Mr. Pigors and his collaborators also accept the "relations" approach to this problem, but they are concerned with the narrower field of plant management. The book contains an interesting collection of cases concerning a great variety of personnel problems—recruitment, transfer, discharge, training, safety, working conditions, etc., etc.—arising in the actual day-to-day experience of two manufacturing firms. The cases are described and explained with a view to bringing out the complex of psychological and sociological as well as economic factors inevitably involved in all of them. To read them is a valuable exercise for the enthusiastic social reformer who often forgets that these problems of social adjustment must arise in any form of society, as well as for the industrial executive who may have been handling similar problems without imaginative insight. The authors prove their claim that each business unit is a society in itself and that its social structure needs study and reform. There is, however, nothing in the book to warrant the suggestion made by Professor Philip Cabot, in his foreword, that the improvement of the working of the social mechanism within the plant or business will solve the wider problems of the whole economic order. One cannot be satisfied with the statement that "unless the managers of large-scale business can produce social inventions on a scale comparable with that on which they have produced mechanical inventions, the increasing instability long observable in our economic structure will end in collapse." Social inventions certainly are required, but if the masters of our economy are not prepared to cooperate with government in their discovery and to abandon the claim to dictatorship, however benevolent, the economic structure will collapse, despite all the efforts and all the researches of the personnel managers.

Mr. Baldwin, director of the American Civil Liberties Union, and Mr. Randall, vice-president of the Inland Steel Company, each delivered two lectures at Harvard last year on the common topic of the relation of civil liberty and industrial conflict. In their pages, the reader is brought sharply up against the more unpleasant realities of industrial relations in contemporary America. In Mr. Baldwin's view, the civil liberties guaranteed by the Constitution are in jeopardy chiefly because of the emergence of the class struggle. The "rise to power of labor, everywhere supporting the instruments of political democracy, is met by the determined opposition of the defenders of property—the employers of labor. In that struggle, the employing class become the opponents of that democracy by which the working class seeks to rise." To Mr. Randall, on the other hand, mass-picketing, sit-down strikes, and flying squadrons are the outstanding problem, and they are the result of "the unlicensed tyranny of . . . mob movements" usually instigated by self-seeking demagogues. The remedy is "the restoration of government under law."

Mr. Randall depicts the plight of a superintendent of a valuable industrial plant threatened by a mob armed with shot-guns, deer-rifles, baseball bats, and blackjacks. In times past, such a superintendent might

have ordered his guards to fire, but "the better viewpoint today in industry is that ball ammunition must not be used upon crowds." Tear gas has a regrettable tendency to blow back upon those who use it. The only alternatives are either for the guards and the superintendent to sell their lives dearly by defending themselves and the plant with "policemen's billies," or call in civil authority. But, alas, the civil authority, elected by a duped majority of voters, too often refuses to do what the superintendent wants.

It is unfortunate that Mr. Randall cites no evidence to show how often factories have been invaded by strikers who proceeded to destroy the machinery on which their livelihood depends. He simply asserts without discussion that if the law breaks down the employer must be allowed to take the law into his own hands, and his discussion of the causes of the situation in which unrest and sit-downs occur is naïve in the extreme. He paints a sentimental picture of the happy working-man, who had good pay, a good wife, and a "curly headed boy who ran to meet him when he came home at night." Of course he bought some of the stock of the company for which he worked. "Into the life of this man there suddenly came a tornado, and he was blown violently hither and yon by forces which he did not understand and over which he had not the slightest control." "The Depression," says the reader to himself at this point. Not a bit of it: The snake in this Eden was the intimidating union organizer.

Mr. Baldwin, of course, has the best of the debate. He has little difficulty in proving, by citing evidence placed before the La Follette committee and the results of a careful study of press reports during 1937, that there has been more violence against than by labor. He also arrives at the encouraging conclusion that the attitude of influential sections of the middle class—especially lawyers, clergy, journalists and teachers—are more enlightened in these matters than they have been in the past. Mr. Randall's strongest debating points are the existence of intimidation and the lack of effective democracy within many unions. But it apparently does not occur to him that it is violence, practiced by employers in the past, often with the aid of the constituted authorities, that has bred violence by labor; nor does he consider that the best disciplinarian in these circumstances is a fully recognized trade union. Fortunately, there is reason to believe that the number of employers who think as he does is declining.

H. A. MARQUAND

University of Cardiff, South Wales

Labor in the United States. Basic Studies for Social Security. By W. S. WOYTINSKY. Washington: Committee on Social Security of the Social Science Research Council, 1938. Pp. xxii+333. \$3.50.

American Labor. By HERBERT HARRIS. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1938. Pp. ix+459. \$3.75.

Among the many difficulties involved in framing and applying a system of social security in the United States, not the least has been the absence

of satisfactory statistical data. The returns of the various censuses do not give certain industrial, occupational, and employment statistics which are essential. For instance, they do not distinguish between employers and employed; nor do they give information concerning the age and sex of employed workers.

Dr. Woytinsky in the present volume supplies many of these deficiencies. He has reclassified and retabulated data collected for the censuses of population, agriculture, business, distribution, mines, manufacture, and construction. In doing so, he has greatly illuminated our general statistical picture of labor in the United States, and the discussions in which he explains his methods should prove of great value to state administrators in applying their own legislation and in preparing reports and actuarial calculations.

Statisticians will enjoy reading the work of a master in their field. Dr. Woytinsky's findings are summarized at the head of each chapter with admirable lucidity, and his methods of procedure and conclusions are expounded with delicate precision. Sociologists will be especially interested in his study of the mobility of labor between occupational groups and in his conclusion that, despite the nominal restrictions of the Social Security law, before long old-age pensions will in fact be extended to the bulk of agricultural workers, though the payments they receive will not be large. It is also interesting to note the anticipated rapid increase of the number of recipients above the number of workers for whom contributions will be paid.

Mr. Harris gives a rapid account of the history of American labor down to the collapse of the Knights of Labor. Then follow seven vivid sketches of the history of seven typical groups down to the present day: the miners, the carpenters, the journalists (twenty pages of valuable material not elsewhere obtainable in book form), the ladies' garment workers, the railroad men, the automobile and the textile workers. Finally, a concluding chapter summarizes the main developments in the union movement as a whole from 1900 to the end of 1938. The book is admirably printed and has a number of illustrations.

This is not a work of original research. It leans heavily, for example, in its historical portions upon the previous labors of the Wisconsin school. But there is no other book of similar scope so well suited to the needs of the nonspecialist reader who wishes to obtain a sound understanding of the labor movement in this country. For university students beginning a study of the subject it will also be valuable, for it is vivid and easy to read and Mr. Harris does not allow the thread of his story to become tangled in a mass of detail.

Whoever produces a single book on the history of American labor must confront the difficulty of what to omit. Mr. Harris may be criticized for his failure to include a fuller account of producers' cooperation during the nineteenth century, and still more for passing over in eight lines the San Francisco strike of 1934. But for detail and chronological accuracy, the reader must go elsewhere. What Mr. Harris excels in is making history

come alive. His sketches of leaders—Lewis, Gompers, Dubinsky, Martin, Bridges, and many more—are written with the skill of an expert journalist, and he has a real ability to indicate how the events of the past must have seemed to contemporaries. He has an exciting way of blending a discussion of theory with an account of events, and so he succeeds in conveying to the reader that mixture of personal magnetism, ideology, bread-and-butter needs, intrigue, straightforward public spirit, and economic pressure which makes up the living labor movement.

H. A. MARQUAND

University of Cardiff, South Wales

Sales Analysis from the Management Standpoint. By DONALD R. G. COWAN. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938. Pp. x+210. \$2.00.

In the past, there have been reasons for feeling that the methods of commercial research must lag many years behind the techniques used by leaders in the so-called "pure" social sciences. Dr. Cowan happily dispels our skeptical illusions in this respect.

He also refutes the belief—so common in both academic and business circles—that there is a great chasm between academic sociology and economics, on the one hand, and practical business utility, on the other.

Sociologists interested in American demography and in American material culture-patterns will find here not only an application of facts which they have earlier brought to light, but also a wealth of information which they may add to their own fund of knowledge. The book tells what market analysis has accomplished in at least one great marketing organization. And since markets consist of people, the analysis is really a study of the desires, interests, and purchasing behavior of people—differentiated according to the regional, racial, and other social groupings of which those people are a part. Such factors as literacy, school attendance, radio listenership, magazine circulation, and urbanization are shown to be related in interestingly predictable ways to the specific purchasing behavior of the people studied.

Quite naturally, social psychology also comes into the picture. For example, the tendency of certain brand names to become generic terms is mentioned. That is, a name introduced by one particular manufacturer comes to be accepted by the public as a lower-case noun or adjective—descriptive of a certain *type* of product, including the similar products made by many different competitors. This subject, like many others is carried just far enough to leave us interested in further research as to the reasons *why*. It seems that we do not yet know why certain brand names are assimilated into the common language, while other names equally well advertised are not thus assimilated.

As to techniques, no use is made of "analysis of variance," but there is a very effective use of multiple and part correlation, beta coefficients, logarithmic relationships, and standard scores. One very helpful section is Dr. Cowan's review of earlier crude methods of constructing regional market

indices. These cruder methods are unfortunately still in wide use, and this is a handicap to the full utilization by sociologists (and by administrators) of the voluminous social-economic data published by some trade journals. However, for sociology students who prefer not to wait for perfection in the raw data, Dr. Cowan's warnings may serve as a salutary guide.

The book has limitations, which are duly pointed out. The greatest limitation is that such a book must stop so soon.

M. B. DAVIES

Denver, Colorado

Economics for Consumers. By LELAND J. GORDON. New York: American Book Co., 1939. Pp. x+638. \$3.00.

The Consumer and the Economic Order. By WARREN C. WAITE and RALPH CASSADY, JR. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1939. Pp. x+389. \$3.50.

Although the texts in the recently developed field of consumption show a similarity in the choice and treatment of topics, they differ according to emphasis given to buying efficiency, general factors which influence consumption, and marketing practices.

Gordon's nontechnical book is primarily concerned with the first aspect—ways in which the unwary and defenseless consumer might improve his status. As compared with other texts which have a similar approach to the problem, this book deals at greater length with nonlogical bases of behavior, is more sensitive to the consumer's plight, and in offering specific advice is inclined, at times, to simplify the nature of difficulties which confront the buyer.

Waite and Cassady, while mindful of the welfare of the individual consumer, are mainly interested in the economic factors which determine the level of group consumption. They have culled from the body of economic thought a variety of material which has relevance to the problem of purchasing power in general, and have presented the theoretical points of issue fairly and concisely. To compare these two books by way of illustration: With the same target in view, Waite and Cassady discuss the theory of ballistics, while Gordon wants to show how to aim and hit the mark.

FRANK HARRIS

Elmira College

Economic Development of the United States. By CHARLES MANFRED THOMPSON and FRED MITCHELL JONES. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1939. Pp. xiv+794. \$3.50.

Economics and Society. By JOHN F. CRONIN. New York: American Book Co., 1939. Pp. xvii+456. \$2.50.

Thompson and Jones have divided the history of this country into periods under which they trace various phases of economic activity, both

separately and as they can be related in a pattern of events. This book makes available a store of factual material, contemporary writings useful as supplementary readings, and a concise summary of events after 1930. Designed to serve as a first course, the student uninitiated in economics may find some topics beyond his reach and a picture of our modern economy as a whole difficult to grasp because of the lack of interpretive material. Perhaps the customary sequence of study might be reversed and a familiarity with current problems used as a background for a better understanding of the stages of their development.

A departure from the usual run of texts in economic problems, Cronin's book is characterized by a fervor for reform and proposals for the solution of maladjustments which prevail. Explaining the weakness of unfettered individualism while rejecting extreme state control, Cronin would adopt "social ethics" as a guiding principle in the quest for a more enlightened economic order. Catholic writers are quoted frequently in support of this thesis. There is an extensive and carefully prepared bibliography for each problem discussed.

FRANK HARRIS

Elmira College

Social Work Year Book, 1939. Ed. by RUSSEL H. KURTZ. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1939. Pp. 730. \$3.50.

This, the fifth issue of what is intended to be "a concise encyclopedia" in the "organized activities in social work and related fields," is significant chiefly as reflecting the extent to which the center of the social work stage has been taken by publicly sponsored agencies. A new 100-page section, "Public Assistance in the States," describes the relief programs of the 48 states. (Why is the District of Columbia omitted?) More than half of the 82 topical articles deal with programs exclusively operated by public agencies (30) or heavily participated in by such agencies (15).

The dominance of public welfare in social work is also reflected in certain articles dealing with such "pure" professional subjects as social case work, and education for social work. The former records a swing towards active concern with external or economic, as contrasted with internal or subjective factors, in the difficulties encountered by the client. It also notes the rapid dissolving of the "top down" or "autocratic" attitude towards the client resulting from the democratic support of public welfare and also—though this is not mentioned by the author of the article—from the methods of personnel recruitment followed by public agencies.

The latter article calls attention to the special study of the Association of Schools of Social Work of programs of training for public welfare services and of the expansion of training for the fields of public welfare and public administration.

The sociologist will find this work valuable mainly as a means of orientation for himself and his students in this expanding and shifting profession—a profession which a large proportion of the current crop of sociology

"majors" is considering as a possible vocational outlet. Those sociologists on the look-out for current factual material will find useful data in many articles. Especially helpful are the extensive references to periodical, mimeographed, and pamphlet literature included in the excellent bibliographies appended to each article. The Directory of National Social Agencies, covering over 100 pages, is also a valuable reference resource.

The student in social theory and in social psychology will find such articles as social group work, social action, and civil liberties to be stimulating reading.

NILES CARPENTER

University of Buffalo

Social Work in Greater Cleveland; How Public and Private Agencies are Serving Human Needs. By LUCIA JOHNSON BING. Cleveland: The Welfare Federation of Cleveland, 1938. Pp. 256. 34 illustrations. \$1.25.

Mrs. Bing has given us in this paper-covered volume a description of the social service agencies of a large American city. In twenty-five chapters she has covered all conceivable welfare organizations—from various case work agencies to group and community serving clubs and organizations; private and public financed bodies; local and nationally affiliated groups.

The book devotes to each organization a concise history of its origin and development; whether it be of local, national or of world-wide significance. The functions of the agencies in present day Cleveland are discussed: for the type of care given, the numbers served, as well as the sponsors of the service. The opening pages deal with the general nature of social work. The entire survey is written in plain understandable English. Technical words are carefully defined, though one may hardly say the treatise aims to be technical. The concluding pages describe the specialized training given in this country to prepare one professionally for social work.

Actually *Social Work in Greater Cleveland* is written primarily for lay consumption—in particular the public of Cleveland—to acquaint them with the needy and the services that are provided for the unfortunates as well as the general public. The book is admirably fitted for use in civics or general social science courses at the high school level. In a college social problems course it might well be used as material illustrating the available social agencies serving the public in a large American city.

ARTHUR LEWIS WOOD

University of Buffalo

L'Assistance Sociale en Roumanie. Bucarest: Monitorul oficial și Imprimeriile Statului, Imprimeria Națională, 1938. Pp. 293.

As the first systematic report on social work and its relation to sociology in Roumania, this is a very useful work, containing thirteen essays on such topics as the social and hospital service of Roumania, the protection of infants and mothers, and juvenile delinquency and prostitu-

tion. Of interest also is the description of the organization and functioning of the "L'école supérieure d'assistance sociale 'Princesse Ileana'," headed by Dr. Xenia Costa-Foru, who attended the University of Chicago and the New York School of Social Work.

JOSEPH S. ROUCEK

Hofstra College

A Doctor for the People. By MICHAEL A. SHADID. New York: Vanguard Press, 1939. Pp. 277. \$2.50.

In the long debate between the American Medical Association and those who want better care for those sick who are unable to pay any large amount, theory and statistics have played the largest part. This book is the record of a personal experience by a doctor who endeavored to provide hospital care and medical attention for a group of 2500 people in and around Elk City, Oklahoma. It is the story of the founding of the first cooperative hospital with group medical care in the United States.

Dr. Shadid was born into a poor family in Syria. He got his first taste of American education at the University in Beirut, Syria. He came to America and worked his way through college and finally through medical school by peddling cheap jewelry.

He established a practice in Oklahoma at which he made money and became an influential citizen. His experience soon led him to see that a good many doctors were interested in the practice of medicine simply for what they could make out of it. He also soon observed, both from his own experience and the experience of others, in a country in which few first-class hospitals existed, that much bungling work was done. Therefore he decided to try to combine the various doctors in his city in a group clinic where each of them could contribute his special skill. He failed in this attempt. Then he set about to form a cooperative hospital which would provide medical, surgical, and hospital care for a group of cooperators who would furnish the money to build and equip the hospital and who would pay an annual fee for their families' care. Here is where he came into conflict with the established medical associations. First he was thrown out of the County Medical Society and therefore lost his membership in the State Medical Society and the American Medical Association. His opponents resorted to all kinds of political trickery to have his license taken away from him, and did their best to prevent his hiring doctors to man the hospital. However, with the help of the Farmers' Union, he rebuffed this attack in the State legislature as well as attacks by physicians in his locality who thought they saw their practice jeopardized by this cooperative clinic and hospital, built the hospital, and has added twice to its buildings.

The book is a good story by Dr. Shadid himself of the difficulties which he has undergone in providing adequate medical care for the people of his community. A man of less determination and resourcefulness would have failed. Incidentally, the book is a pertinent commentary on the tactics of the American Medical Association in the effort to control not only the

practice of medicine but also the financial arrangements by which people may pay for their medical and hospital care.

J. L. GILLIN

University of Wisconsin

A History of American Education. By STUART G. NOBLE. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1938. Pp. xv+440. \$2.50.

Adaptability of Public School Systems. By PAUL R. MORT and FRANCIS G. CORNELL. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1938. Pp. xii+146. \$2.10.

Training in Democracy. By FRANCIS H. STUERM. New York: Inor Publishing Co., 1938. Pp. xiii+256. \$2.50.

Professor Noble has produced a book in American educational history which is designed to make clear the impact of religious, economic, political, and cultural conditions and movements upon educational development. The field set is altogether too large to be more than sketched in a volume of four hundred pages, but even so the treatment provides an excellent guide for study. The correlations between the school and society are most satisfactorily indicated for the periods up to and immediately following the Civil War. The educational changes of the last sixty or seventy years have in themselves been so many and so varied that the author has not found space to do much more than to describe them alone. The method and point of view of the first two thirds of the book, however, should save the student from ever thinking of schools as the products of teachers and pedagogical theory. On the side of purely school history, the author is at his best when dealing with the curriculum. He seems to have found it necessary to slight or ignore general administration, colleges and universities, rural schools, and vocational and adult education. The phenomenon of educational lag is also meagerly noted. But one cannot have everything in so short a book on so broad a theme. Those who seek to make educational history socially and professionally functional should be thankful for this publication as it is.

The reluctance of the school to change at the rate and in the manner of its sponsoring society has always been fair game for impatient progressive critics. Nevertheless, even modern "measurement men" in education fail to recognize adequately the criterion of adaptability in their objective appraisal of schools and school systems. It is the contention of authors Mort and Cornell that this criterion is as important as the maintenance of persisting values, economy, or provision for individual differences. The earmarks of adaptability, the factors influencing adaptability, the nature of the adaptation process, and the issues raised by reported investigations are the topics of discussion in their book. They succeed in clearly defining a highly significant area of needed research. Such spadework as they themselves have done in the United States and in South Africa is described, with full admission that more questions have been raised than answered. The question that seems to bulk largest in the array is the effect of the allocation of school support and control on educational adjustment. It is made clear

that, despite the usual opinion, support and control need not coincide. Data as yet are quite insufficient to permit generalizations as to the best division of support and control between the state and the community for promoting educational flexibility. Research-minded students in educational administration will find a most excellent battery of problems suggested in this monograph.

Dr. Stuermer's book contains a great deal that is pertinent to the general problem set by Mort and Cornell. It describes the efforts made in Czechoslovakia since the war to introduce features of the new education into the schools of that country. Many progressive individuals and organizations have been busy under the Republic trying to make democracy more explicit in the structure, the purposes, and the methods of the schools. The reformers have been seeking to bring about adjustments to ability levels, to provide for individualized instruction, to introduce pupil self-government, to substitute projects for formal procedures, to integrate school and community, and to cultivate democratic understanding and loyalty. The techniques employed have been the re-education of teachers through professional literature, conferences and institutes, the creation of experimental centers, at first private but eventually public, the deliberate injection of the new ideas into cadets in the training schools, and the building up of pressures upon legislatures. Within the last few years many of the proposals of the progressives have been accepted by the central authorities and have been made either mandatory or permissive throughout the Republic. There is in this book a very helpful accumulation of facts for the student of educational adaptability. One cannot forbear, however, in reviewing such a book at this time to acknowledge the irony of these democratizing movements in the light of recent events. It would seem inevitable under the regime now forced upon Czechoslovakia that further reforms in the name of democracy will not be greatly encouraged.

M. H. WILLING

University of Wisconsin

The Structure and Administration of Education in American Democracy.

By THE EDUCATIONAL POLICIES COMMISSION. Washington: National Education Assn. of the U.S., 1938. Pp. 128. \$0.50.

The Principles of Democratic Education. By WILLIAM BRUCE. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1939. Pp. xvi+382. \$2.50.

Democracy and the Curriculum. Third Yearbook of the John Dewey Society. Ed. by HAROLD RUGG. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., Inc., 1939. Pp. xiv+536. \$2.75.

The book of the Educational Policies Commission is a straightforward, condensed statement, mostly by Dr. Strayer. As a whole it is both sound and progressive. Occasionally, however, one wonders how realistic a picture he is getting, e.g., "Elementary schools enroll approximately 100% of the children between the ages of six and thirteen inclusive" (p. 3).

Vermont? The Deep South? "The prevailing policy in the United States has kept the local administration of schools separate from other governmental functions" (p. 42). A good case is made for more Federal participation in education, but the author's zeal for decentralization leads him to underemphasize the danger that Federal funds will be inefficiently or corruptly used by State or local authorities.

Bruce's book, largely inspired by Dewey and Bode, is a happy combination of the psychology and philosophy of education. Though a little monotonous in style, it is never obscure, never pedantic, and rarely superficial or indiscriminating. Starting from the conviction that "democracy continually widens the area of common interests shared," the author explains why and how education should grow out of cooperation of teacher, pupil, parent, and administrator. The teacher, at least, should be "a student of democracy and the sciences that underlie democracy." The critical bibliographies at the end of each chapter are unusually interesting. They reveal a catholic taste and a talent for short book reviews.

The authors of *Democracy and the Curriculum* believe that "Government in a democracy is synonymous with education." Therefore they are determined that schools shall prepare citizens to deal intelligently with the present "depressed society." Rugg takes about a third of the book in an ambitious attempt to sketch the past, present, and probable future of our industrial culture. By constant recourse to tabulation, statistics, and fine print, he turns over an amazing amount of ground at a speed which left this reader at times wondering if he were cramming for an exam. In a less condensed style the other nine authors, including Kilpatrick and Counts, deal with such problems as the needs of youth today, educational psychology (infant to adult), guidance, and the design and administration of the modern curriculum.

GERALD BARNES

Black Mountain College, N. C.

Education for Citizenship. The Regents' Inquiry into the Character and Cost of Public Education in the State of New York. By HOWARD E. WILSON. New York: The McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1938. Pp. xii+272. \$2.75.

A Regional Program for the Social Studies. By A. C. KREY. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1938. Pp. xiii+140. \$1.25.

Utilization of Community Resources in the Social Studies. Ninth Yearbook. Ed. by RUTH WEST. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The National Council for the Social Studies, 1938. Pp. vi+229. \$2.00.

Such an exhaustive survey as that of the Board of Regents of the University of the State of New York into the character and cost of public education within this state, of which the volume on *Education for Citizenship* is a part, is bound to be significant to educators and sociologists in general on a number of grounds. The matter of evaluating training for

future civic efficiency in a rapidly changing society is apt to incur the hazard of imputing the type of social values that should comprise the social studies curriculum. The objectives of the study are set in the explicitly stated assumption of the report that the general education of the student should enable him "to participate not only harmlessly but constructively in the operations of society." According to the author, therefore, the report cannot be "wholly objective," nor "merely descriptive."

The survey not only made use of the materials derived from the testing of some 22,000 pupils, but carried on extensive interviews and classroom visitations. Among the various tests applied, those investigating knowledge of sociological concepts, skills in the interpretation of graphs and maps, and attitudes towards such problems as race, free press, and nationalism, appear to be of conspicuous importance.

To counteract the flaccid and ineffectual rote-memory paper and pencil type of instruction so prevalent, the report encourages increasing attention to direct investigation by students of the school as a sociological institution, with increased responsibility for students in school government and administration, the use of the community as a social laboratory, a curriculum adapted to the differing intellectual capacities of students, and a departure from the strictures of a rigid syllabus and testing organization emanating from the centralized control of the Regents' Board.

To provide the groundwork for the type of program which the Regents' Inquiry would like to set into action, *A Regional Program for the Social Studies* might very well set the fundamental philosophy. A completely laid-out curricular program, extending from the primary grades right through to the high schools, is here presented. The underlying tone is predominantly sociological, and continual emphasis is made of the need to relate the pupil's own experience to the ever-widening ramifications of what the author calls the "social web."

The interesting collection of papers appearing in the *Ninth Yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies for 1938* might almost be said to parallel in general point of view the opinions expressed in the conclusions of the Regents' Inquiry Report. The utilization of community resources in the teaching of the social studies becomes significant only insofar as students gain an understanding of our evolving culture. Furthermore, opportunities must be provided for the building of a wholesome framework of values and the "developing of individual competence in social participation" commensurate with the changing demands and interests of such a culture.

To re-vitalize a democratic tradition that has for too long been characterized by the empty shibboleths and verbalisms of the classroom, the social responsibility of the school must be readily admitted, and the possibilities that these volumes hold out for the school again becoming an integral and actively functioning phase of social control in the community are significant and challenging.

HERBERT A. BLOCH

St. Lawrence University

Negro Education in Alabama: A Study in Cotton and Steel. By HORACE MANN BOND. Washington: The Associated Publishers, Inc., 1939. Pp. xii+358. \$3.25.

Because he recognizes that "no survey of factors influencing public provisions for Negro children could at all be adequate without understanding the conditions surrounding the demands of white children upon the State for tax-supported schools," the main thesis of Bond's book extends beyond its main title into a consideration of the influence of cotton and steel interests upon public and private education for whites as well as Negroes. Chief emphasis, however, is laid upon the influence of these factors upon public education for Negroes.

Education for Negroes has too long been seen chiefly in terms of the lengthened shadows of selected Negro and white personalities without due reference to their social, economic and political attitudes and interests. Dr. Bond's chief contribution rests upon his attempt to show the inter-relationship between the attitudes and interests of personalities connected with cotton and steel and the public and private provisions made for education in Alabama during the years when current patterns were being formed not only in Alabama but throughout the South.

The book is characterized by careful research, excellent documentation, and cautious generalizations. Its defects are primarily mechanical, some paragraphs being repeated almost verbatim without cross-reference. There are fifty-two pages of footnotes at the back of the book. The book is a distinct contribution which will interest social scientists no less than students of education.

CHARLES S. JOHNSON

Fisk University

Societas Scientiarum Fennica, Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum, toms X. By FREDERICK ELFVING. Helsingfors: Centraltryckeriet, 1938. Pp. 310+152.

As is indicated above, this work is essentially a history of the Scientific Society of Finland, written by one of its former secretaries, Frederick Elfving, Professor of Botany at the University of Helsingfors. The history proper is written in the Swedish language; the two appendices are in French with the titles of the publications given in the language in which they were written. The reason for this arrangement is obvious to anyone familiar with the social and academic conditions prevailing in Finland. Until quite recently the literary language of the country was that of its minority group dwelling in the larger cities and along the western coast. It should be borne in mind, too, that, for reasons too complex to be discussed here, it is chiefly from its Swedish population that Finland has derived its intellectual leadership. As late as 1847, the Societas Fennica rejected a treatise because it was written in Finnish. Not until the 1870's was Finnish admitted or used at all in the publications of the organization.

The historical section, the first five chapters of which are almost entirely pure narration, traces the origin of the Society to its humble beginnings. As early as 1753, we learn from a letter of Peter Kalm (better known for his travels and observations in North America, but at the time in question professor of economics in the College of Åbo) to Linnaeus, a scientific society had been established in Finland; this organization, however, was not long-lived. The number of scientists were few, and the incentives to scientific activity not numerous, while the hindrances were great and annoying. Eighteenth-century Finland was an outpost of civilization cut off, during the major portion of the year, from any communications with the rest of the civilized world. Poverty, untoward climatic conditions, together with wars and political struggles, obviously rendered the pursuit of knowledge difficult.

In 1838, however, political and social conditions having become relatively stable, a group of fifteen men—with two exceptions faculty members of the University of Helsingfors—founded the Scientific Society of Finland. This organization since its inception has been divided into three sections: the mathematico-physical, the biological, and the humanistic. The number of members has varied somewhat from time to time, but the membership has never been large; evidently the scientific leadership of Finland has never been unduly impressed by mere numbers. At present the organization is made up of about 85 regular members; corresponding members (noted foreign scientists) and honorary members are elected from time to time. The former practice of electing so-called patrons of science to honorary membership has been discontinued; at present only intellectual leaders whom the Society especially desires to honor are so designated.

In the beginning, the Society was essentially an organization at whose monthly meetings the local academicians came together to read and discuss scientific papers in their respective fields; but it did not long remain merely such. The Society soon undertook, with the cooperation of the parochial clergy and the provincial physicians, to gather phenological and meteorological data. These efforts later resulted in the establishment of the Finnish Meteorological Institute, which was controlled by the Society until 1918, when the former became an independent unit directly responsible to the state. The Society has also taken part in polar explorations (e.g., those of Nordenskiöld), and conducted hydrographic and oceanographic surveys and research. The two latter, especially, have been of considerable value to the country in general and to its fisheries in particular. Moreover, it was due to the efforts of the Society that the possibility of winter navigation of the seas adjacent to Finland was investigated and established. Thus were eliminated the annually recurring long periods of isolation; it had previously been *assumed* that such navigation was impossible.

Since 1864, the Societas Scientiarum Fennica has administered various funds from which prizes have been given to outstanding scientists both native and foreign. It is of interest to sociologists especially that Edward Westermarck was thus honored by the society in 1894 because of his *History of Human Marriage*. In addition, the Society has also, from its

own funds, extended aid to research workers and scientists from time to time (it should be remembered that the Society itself enjoys a state subsidy). A complete record of all prizes given and all financial aid rendered by the organization are to be found in this work.

The list of publications includes a wide variety of subjects ranging from treatises on mathematics or medicine to discussions of social problems and *belles lettres*. Mathematico-physical treatises, however, predominate. This is to be expected in view of the composition of the organization's membership.

In brief, this work is a well-written résumé of the Society's activities; it is an eloquent though modest tribute to the scientific pioneers of Finland, who often had to pursue their work under not particularly favorable circumstances and who, while dominated by the scientific spirit, did not regard their labors as something esoteric, as ends in themselves. No doubt the present social well-being of Finland (as well as of its immediate Scandinavian neighbors) is due in no small degree to the work of its scientists and to the willingness of the people to utilize the same for the welfare of all rather than to promote the interests of special privileged groups within the social structure.

A. C. M. AHLÉN
and
GEORGE W. HILL

University of Minnesota
and
University of Wisconsin

The Life of Braxton Craven. By JEROME DOWD. Durham: Duke University Press, 1939. Pp. xvi+246. \$3.00.

Fighting for Life. By S. JOSEPHINE BAKER. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1939. Pp. 264. \$2.75.

Autobiography With Letters. By WILLIAM LYON PHELPS. New York: Oxford University Press, 1939. Pp. xxiii+986. \$3.75.

Aside from the insights and wisdom which a biography may contain, it may also have a usefulness for the sociologist as a sample of the culture of which it is an expression. From this standpoint, each of the volumes under review holds something of value. Dowd's study is a biography of an orphan in North Carolina who became a leading southern educator and whose college (Trinity) has in our own day grown into Duke University; *Fighting for Life* is the autobiography of a notable feminine leader in the public organization of child hygiene; the autobiography of William Lyon Phelps contains many shrewd observations of the world of the university professor as well as of the literary artist.

Professor Dowd has consciously written his book from the angle of the sociologist. He seeks to make it reveal the process by which the "creative man," as defined by Thomas and Znaniecki in *The Polish Peasant*, is developed. It is not clear to this reviewer that he has accomplished this particular purpose. On the one hand, information concerning the early

life of Braxton Craven is admittedly meagre, and the author is forced to draw on his imagination at vital points. On the other hand, aside from the citation in the Preface, Mr. Dowd does not consistently use the hypothesis of Thomas, but turns instead to the psychoanalysts for aid. In spite of this, the book is of interest to those who are concerned with the changing South and its developing educational institutions.

Dr. Baker's volume deserves particular mention in two respects: its record of the struggle involved in the development of public activity in child hygiene; and the illuminating sidelights on the medical profession's attitudes toward this problem as well as toward a woman invading a man's world.

The fascinating autobiography of Mr. Phelps cannot be given adequate attention in this review. It must suffice to draw attention to those pages and sentences which tell of William Graham Summer, "the leading scholar and teacher on the Yale faculty" and "a tremendous personality"; and to the chapter on "Informality" which has challenging implications for the theory that the shift from primary to secondary group life necessarily means an increase in formal behavior. Finally, the social-psychological analysis of friendship, when it comes, should find a gold mine of suggestions in this volume.

EVERETT V. STONEQUIST

Skidmore College

Unhappy Spain. By PIERRE CRABITÈS. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1937. Pp. 244. \$2.50.

Mr. Crabitès intends to give an analysis of the Spanish national spirit. Starting from the hypothesis that there is something like a "national spirit," he undertakes to determine the motivating forces causing the actual state of the Spanish mind, and arrives at the conclusion that the Spaniard is of a "dual nature." This dual nature is explained as the result of two antagonistic religious systems. The following quotations show Crabitès' approach to the problem: "The world looks upon Spain as being a Catholic nation. She is, in the sense that those of her sons and daughters who go to any church are practically all of them Catholics. But temperamentally, as opposed to spiritually, the Spaniard is a Moslem" (p. 220). "We have a hybrid with a Catholic soul and a Moslem subconscious mind, a Christian spirituality grafted upon a Mohammedan mentality" (p. 221).

Even supposing that the reference to some religious system or systems could be considered adequate as an interpretation of any "national spirit," it still remains to be seen what the author does with this scheme of interpretation in the case at hand. For him, the principal characteristic of Islam is resignation, a kind of fatalism, which causes inactivity; on the other hand he stresses the fighting spirit of Christianity, which teaches the Spaniard "that he should be prepared to die for his faith" (p. 222). It is obvious that this interpretation is rather arbitrary and that it is possible to exchange the criteria, emphasizing Christian resignation as well as the fighting spirit of Islam.

Finally, the author introduces a third element into his "analysis" to discover the secret of the Spanish soul, which is "the Grand Orient Masonry"; he links this movement with Islam by stating that "the rise of the 'Grand Orient Masonry' movement tended to accentuate the Moslem characteristics of the Spaniard" (p. 223). If we would admit that the political significance of the Spanish "Grand Orient Masonry" has always been greater and more effective than that of the York and Scottish rites—a distinction drawn by the author himself—it would yet seem somewhat unfounded to identify the entire Spanish liberal movement of the nineteenth and twentieth century with Masonry activity. It might have been interesting to see if Mr. Crabitès could prove his statements concerning Masonry, but unfortunately for the reader he confines himself to a mere declaration without giving satisfactory evidence.

This attempt, then, to reveal the secret of the Spanish national spirit does not lead us any further on the way to knowledge, mainly because the study lacks an adequate approach to such problems and is dilettantic in the selection of its means of interpretation. We would not have concentrated on this point, if the author himself had not considered pp. 213-239 the most important and most original part of his book. Disregarding, however, those methodological and indeed crucial defects of this examination of the Spanish national spirit, we readily admit that the book contains a readable outline of Spanish history since 1830, based in part on modern Spanish sources (Castillo Gamazo, Madariaga, Reynosos, Romanones, etc.). This historical survey leads up to the first stages of the Spanish civil war, in the treatment of which the author expresses his sympathy for the Franco cause, at least indirectly, by a heavy attack on the leaders of the Loyalist government (p. 239) and an occasional defense of the Catholic Church (p. 234). True, almost in the same breath he characterizes the leaders of all the parties involved in the Spanish conflict as representative of "the devious minds of Europe," which expression presumably applies also to the Fascists. But a pro-Fascist bias would appear to be implied in the general attitude taken. Thus the book, while furnishing some means of understanding the present Spanish situation, reflects a good deal of the intellectual confusion typical of the pro-Fascist state of mind.

HANS AUFRICHT

New York University

The Problem of Historical Knowledge. By MAURICE MANDELBAUM. New York: Liveright Publishing Corp., 1938. Pp. x+340. \$3.50.

Max Weber, L'Homme et le Savant. By MARCEL WEINREICH. Paris: Librairie J. Vrin, 1938. Pp. xi+212.

Essai sur la Théorie de l'Histoire dans l'Allemagne Contemporaine. By RAYMOND ARON. Paris: Librairie J. Vrin, 1938. Pp. 325.

Mandelbaum's book should be required reading for all social scientists who are genuinely concerned with the remoter bearings of their specialties. Part I is an excellent analysis of historical relativism, made meaningful

through concrete presentations of the relativistic positions of Croce, Dilthey, and Mannheim on the one hand, and by the counter-relativistic contentions of Simmel, Rickert, Scheler, and Troeltsch on the other. Especially useful is the discussion of Mannheim; it parallels, in summary form, the analysis advanced by Alexander von Schelting in his *Max Webers Wissenschaftslehre* (1934).

The second part of the treatise takes up in order questions of value-judgment, relevance and causation, historical pluralism, and the philosophy of history. The discussion suffers somewhat by insufficient attention to the controversies that have centered around Max Weber's analyses, but distinctly refreshing is the rejection of any and all monistic philosophies of history. Those who have been misled by the recondite terminology of the phenomenological movement would do well to read the concluding chapter, at least.

Basically, Mandelbaum espouses only that kind of "theory of history" which can be called non-evaluative, non-transcendent, and non-universal. He grants more to the relativistic position than the present reviewer is inclined to do, but there seems little point in stressing minor disagreements.

For those who find scientific German difficult—and who does not!—a very useful supplement of Mandelbaum's treatise is provided by Marcel Weinreich. Reference has already been made to Schelting, most distinguished heir of the Max Weber tradition. Unfortunately, Schelting's German is almost as difficult as Weber's, and that is saying a great deal. Weinreich has provided an excellent summary of the salient points of Weber's theoretical writings, especially those relating to questions of method. Inasmuch as Weber's major preoccupation was with the problems of historical relativism, time spent in getting a genuine understanding of his position will do much to lend concrete meaning to Mandelbaum's abstract presentation. It is unfortunately true that most American historians do not have the remotest conception of what Max Weber was really talking about. Their initial relativistic prejudices have recently been confirmed by Robertson's *The Rise of Economic Individualism*. With full awareness of the implications of what I say, I am prepared to state that Robertson's book is one of the most unfair ever written. To criticize an author one must first read him and understand him; this Robertson shows no sign of having done. Weinreich might provide a good antidote.

Aron's treatise runs strikingly parallel with Mandelbaum's, except for the fact that Aron gives Weber the consideration he deserves. Dilthey, Rickert, Simmel, and Weber are successively introduced, and the running analysis which accompanies the substantive presentation of their various theories fits hand-in-glove with Mandelbaum's. The reviewer has read most of the literature dealing with historical relativism as it relates to the theories of Max Weber, and on the basis of that knowledge it can be said that no single book is likely to be more enlightening either to the tyro or the seasoned specialist. If one must single out for favorable comment any part of the book manifesting an almost uniformly high level of excellence,

one might direct attention to the chapter on "The Limits of Historical Objectivity and the Philosophy of Choice."

HOWARD BECKER

University of Wisconsin

UNSIGNED BOOK NOTES

Youth in European Labor Camps. By KENNETH HOLLAND. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1939. Pp. xx+303. \$2.50.

Mr. Holland presents his impressions (and many facts) relative to European labor camps with which he has been in close contact, often as a participant, for the past seven years. He describes the developments in pre-Hitler and post-Hitler Germany and Austria, the compulsory system of Bulgaria, and the voluntary systems of the Scandinavian countries, Czechoslovakia, France, Switzerland, Britain, Poland, Holland, and other countries. The history of the movement, including the International Voluntary Service camps founded by the Fellowship of Reconciliation after the war, is also sketched.

The conclusions are that this movement bids fair to become a permanent policy in all countries, that it appeals more to men than women, that it may easily be "captured" by militaristic governments, as in Poland and Germany, and that the best safeguard against this is careful integration with education.

The volume is amply and usefully illustrated and documented but has no index.

Moral Indignation and Middle Class Psychology. By SVEND RANULF. Copenhagen: Levin and Munksgaard, 1938. Pp. 205. Kr. 15.00.

This is a very useful study of a considerable body of secondary literature. Ranulf has tried to show that disinterested zeal for justice is characteristic of middle-class status. More, he maintains that the *lower* middle class, the petty bourgeoisie, most clearly manifests the trait mentioned. As part of the study, the author considers at some length the controversy that has grown up about Max Weber's famous Calvinism-capitalism formula, but does not notably clarify the issues.

The chief shortcoming of the book is the failure clearly to say what is meant by "middle-class psychology," and the neglect of the task of showing how the items selected as "characteristically middle-class" can be united in a meaningful configuration. Finally, the debt to Scheler is insufficiently acknowledged by an appendix in which an attempt is made to discount any such obligation.

Publishers: G. E. STECHERT & Co., New York - DAVID NUTT, London - NICOLA ZANICHELLI, Bologna - FÉLIX ALCAN, Paris - AKADEMISCHE VERLAGSGESELLSCHAFT m. b. H., Leipzig - RUIZ HERMANOS, Madrid - F. KILLIAN'S NACHFOLGER, Budapest
F. ROUGE & Cie, Lausanne THE MARUZEN COMPANY, Toyko.

1939

33rd Year

"SCIENTIA,"

INTERNATIONAL REVIEW OF SCIENTIFIC SYNTHESIS

Published every month (each number containing 100 to 120 pages)

Editors: G. B. BONINO - F. BOTTAZZI - G. BRUNI - A. PALATINI

General Secretary: Paolo Bonetti.

IS THE ONLY REVIEW the contributors to which are really international.

IS THE ONLY REVIEW that has a really world-wide circulation.

IS THE ONLY REVIEW of synthesis and unification of science, that deals in its articles with the newest and most fundamental problems of all branches of knowledge: scientific philosophy, history of science, scientific teaching and advancement, mathematics, astronomy, geology, physics, chemistry, biology sciences, physiology, psychology, history of religions, anthropology, linguistics; articles sometimes constituting real and proper enquiries, such as those on the contribution given by the different nations to the advancement of science; on determinism; on the most fundamental physical and chemical questions, and particularly on relativity, on the physics of the atom and of radiations; on vitalism. "Scientia" thus studies all the main problems interesting the intellectual circles of the whole world.

IS THE ONLY REVIEW that among its contributors can boast of the most illustrious men of science in the whole world.

The articles are published in the language of their authors, and every number has a supplement containing the French translation of all the articles that are not French. The review is thus completely accessible to those who know only French. (Write for a free copy to the General Secretary of "Scientia," Milan, sending a sixpence in one stamp of your country, merely to cover packing and postage.)

SUBSCRIPTION: \$11.50

Substantial reductions are granted to those who take up more than one year's subscription.
For information apply to "SCIENTIA" Via A. De Togni, 23 - Milano (Italy)

Be sure to see the new PUBLIC AFFAIRS PAMPHLETS

at the Annual Meeting of the
American Sociological Society in Philadelphia

32-page, popularly written, graphically illustrated digests of research studies on national social and economic problems.

New titles include

State Trade Walls, by F. Eugene Melder

Debts—Good or Bad? by Maxwell S. Stewart

What Makes Crime? by Winthrop D. Lane

In preparation

Loan Sharks and Their Victims, by William Trufant Foster

Government and Economic Life, by Maxwell S. Stewart

The Wagner Act, by Herbert Harris

10 cents each; 24 consecutive issues, \$2.00; 36 consecutive issues, \$3.00.
Classroom discounts. Send for complete list of titles.

Dept. AS, Public Affairs Committee, Inc.
30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York City

When writing advertisers please mention the AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

